

**INSIDE: The search for peace in Stockholm**

# Maclean's

JANUARY 30, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## CANADA'S FORGOTTEN POOR



Remona and Bert Vokey  
of St. John's, two of the  
almost 4.5 million Canadians  
who live in poverty



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JANUARY 30, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 33



**Bills and talk of retirement**  
Parliament resumed in Ottawa last week, but even with a new Speaker and important legislation everyone was talking about Pierre Trudeau's future. —Page 6



**Apple fights back**  
The unveiling of Apple's new computer, the Macintosh, marks an escalation of the firm's battle with IBM for market share, and it looks like a winner. —Page 34

### COVER

#### Canada's forgotten poor

The country's economic recovery is well under way, but it is doing little for the still growing numbers of Canadians—almost 5.5 million—who are living in poverty. Few jobs are being created, and many desperate people are giving up what hope they once had of ending their dependence on unemployment insurance cheques or welfare payments. —Page 37

COVER PHOTO BY LEO BAKER



#### Searching for peace

A conciliatory speech from President Ronald Reagan failed to dispel the Soviet's grim, inflexible mood at the Stockholm conference on East-West security. —Page 24



#### Following a pioneer

Canada's best-ever professional female golfer, Sandra Post, has returned home and virtually retired, but seven Canadian women are ready to take her place. —Page 46

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## Glamor and power

I was shocked by the non-descript language used in the cover article about the old and new governors general (*The First Lady, Schreyer's uneasy reign at the top*, Jan. 3). I refer to such phrases as "socially inept," "... it was a bad match from the beginning," and "... her [Jeanne Savoy's] chief contribution ... will be the aura of sophistication and good taste she will bring to the upper echelons of Ottawa." I did not know that the Governor General was there to represent the Queen only to the upper echelons. Is it "socially inept" for the Governor General to establish closer relationships with ordinary people, or particularly graciously of him to have a "young, high-spirited family?"

—ANDREW GEL,  
Bathurst, Ont.

The recent power play by Sir Paul Simon in Grenada proves once again that a governor general can wield much more power than merely guiding the guest lists for Rideau Hall parties. Short, then, of abolishing our own Governor General's pre-eminent authority, I much prefer the unapologetic populism of a politician with a social conscience to the expensive glamor that your article seems to feel is the most noteworthy aspect of Jeanne Savoy's appointment to the post.

—JIM STANFORD,  
Calgary

The anticipatory glee with which Ottawa's upper echelons await the installation of Jeanne Savoy to Governor House angers me. In the face of uncer-



Savoy, Prince Charles sophisticated

placement, unmet mortgage payments and arguments for hospital care fees and extra billing, lavish balls and garden parties seem downright vulgar. In these difficult times, I appreciate Edward Schreyer's earnestness and unapologetic friends.

—BITA SPENCE,  
Delaware, Min.

Your article Schreyer's uneasy reign at the top is surely the first time a national magazine has written about a departing governor general in such negative terms and without any real measure of the contributions he has made. The fact is that Schreyer is responsible for a giant step forward in the evolution of an office that once branded us as a colony but that is now, at last, beginning to define us as Canadians. You did not mention that he brought the office to more countries in Canada than any other governor general in history or his very successful state visit to nine countries. And what of the Governor General's Study Committee, the Schreyer Day for soccer or the Schreyer Award for Excellence in Engineering, all initiated during the past five years? I long for the day when we will stop looking to Jackie Kennedy, Princess Diana or Gail help us, Ronald Reagan for our heroes. When we can appreciate our own, we will know we have truly arrived as a nation.

—CLAIRE MYNAT,  
Port Hope, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers who submit columns indicate phone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's House Bldg., 777 King St. E., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**DEED:** Max Bentley, 62, the National Hockey League Hall of Fame centre forward, is back home. Bentley began his career with the Chicago Black Hawks in 1940 and ended it in 1964 with the New York Rangers. He helped the Toronto Maple Leafs to three Stanley Cup victories between 1947 and 1963.

**DEED:** Johnny Weissmuller, 76, the U.S. Olympic swimming champion who became the best-known actor to play Tarzan, following a long film career in Acapulco. Weissmuller, the most successful swimmer of his day, won five gold medals at the 1924 and 1928 Olympics, set 67 world records and won 32 national championships. He began his film career in 1932 with Tarzan the Ape Man—the fourth actor to play the part—and ended his Tarzan roles 12 films and 16 years later with Tarzan and the Mermaids.

**APPOINTED:** Barnett Duxson, 63, chairman of the Parliament of Canada's Lord since 1980 and Liberal defence minister from 1976 to 1979, as annual general to British Columbia's salary will be between \$75,000 and \$85,000, and he will serve three to four years—unless a newly elected Conservative regime demands his resignation.

**APPOINTED:** Jean Drapais, 67, the mayor of Montreal, as a member of France's Legion of Honor, for forging closer links with France and for his achievements in industry and technology. Drapais, who criticized Charles de Gaulle's "Vive le Québec libre" speech in 1967, is the fourth Quebecer to be named to the order created by Napoleon Bonaparte.

**SENED:** Former Philadelphia Phillies Pete Rose, 42, to a one-year contract, by the Montreal Expos. Rose, who earned \$1.3 million in his last year with the Phillies while hitting only .268, will get about \$400,000 from the Expos, but the deal will give him a chance to realize his ambition to beat Ty Cobb's lifetime record of 4,191 hits. Rose is 261 hits short of the mark.

**APPOINTED:** Donald MacPherson, 58, president of the First Choice pay TV network since its inception, as head of CBC TV's English-language sports department, effective immediately, by Denis Harvey, vice-president of English television, the previous sports head. MacPherson spent 21 years at CBC from 1968 to 1969 and from 1971 to 1979. Fred Kleckhamer, 37, Toronto vice-president and general manager of Toronto's CITY TV and president of CableNet, will replace MacPherson on March 1.



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## COLUMN

# Paying the penalty for weakness

By Dick Cohen

**C**BC TV crews are in the process of filming a new special about life under the prime ministership of Pierre Trudeau. It is ready to be aired at the drop of a resignation announcement. As one of the Quebecers who had to be "in the car" by the end of last week, I have had plenty of time to dwell not just on the Canadian economy and economic policymaking over the past 15½ years but on the economic policy directions we are taking today for the future.

It is not a jangle of competing ideas out there in a vacuum. Except for the 1980 National Energy Program and the MacEwen budgets, all of which were disastrous for different reasons, Ottawa's ad hoc economic decision-making to the American as far back as 1970. With the withdrawal of the worst of the MacEwen "inflation" early in 1980, it has been hard to tell whether there is anyone at all inhabiting the offices at the departments of finance or industry, trade and commerce. Today, my greatest frustration as a Canadian economic analyst is that I have to write about U.S. economic policy.

In 1976 Bank of Canada Governor Gerald Bony announced his conversion to the monetarist philosophy. That was not an independent decision, since the U.S. Federal Reserve had been monetarist for months. What the Bony announcement signalled was that Canadian interest rates would essentially be pegged to U.S. rates, regardless of the needs of the Canadian economy. Since then, the push-in-pull-out relationship has continued.

Because Canada has not had an independent interest rate policy—our policy has varied according to the needs of the U.S. economy—we have suffered a major economic recession that that of the United States. Our government's brief forays into the money markets to keep the Canadian dollar in the vicinity of 80 cents (U.S.) have meant higher than necessary Canadian rates for longer than necessary. True, the Canadian dollar has depreciated by only two percentage points against the American, while the franc, mark, pound and yen have depreciated by more than 30 per cent. But the Canadian rate of inflation has dropped more sharply than the U.S. rate, and today, more to the point, the level of Canadian unemployment, at 11.4 per cent, remains almost unchanged from the crisis high of 19.6 per

cent in March, 1982, while the U.S. rate of unemployment is down significantly from a December, 1982, high of 10.6 per cent, and is at about 7.2 per cent, 10 percentage points lower than the Canadian unemployment rate.

It took seven years to formalize the National Energy Program as a Canadian response to the Arab oil embargo of 1973, but seven to be a disaster. Not only did it disrupt business, but within 18 months the policy was obsolete. Prices were not only failing to rise, they were falling. The MacEwen budgets destroyed what little confidence Canadians had in the ability of their federal politicians to understand economics. The tragedy was that the budgets lashed at everyone—spenders, savers, widows and orphans alike. The government may have rescinded the proposed legislation, but dealing with profound disillusionment in another cycle. Since these fiasco, our economic

**'While it is difficult for Canada to do a lot better than the United States, it is not so hard to do a lot worse'**

policy makers have done nothing. Perhaps they have had enough of their own misdeeds.

So we turn to the U.S. economy and ask the same question everyone else is asking: what is going on? Still, in the U.S. there is a lot of economic activity and lots of economic indicators. Around the world a controversy has raged about whether the U.S. recovery would continue in gross national product, slow down or peter out. The Paris-based Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development last week criticized the United States, saying that unless Americans dealt with their deficit there would be no recovery this year. The OECD seems to have missed a few signals that the money markets have caught.

But it looks very much as though the Americans will deal with their deficit. U.S. treasury officials, the council of economic advisers and the office of management and budget, usually competitors for the attention of the president, are all in agreement on the need for additional tax increases. The only area in which they are divided is on how

to raise taxes without giving the appearance that President Reagan is going back on his word.

In Jan. 1982, however, chief Paul Volcker said quite clearly that there is room for lower interest rates if the administration begins dealing with the deficit. Immediately after Volcker's declaration, the markets responded. Real and nominal interest rates fell, the U.S. dollar weakened against all major currencies, and the stock market fell in anticipation of a slowdown in corporate earnings. All that remains now is a confirmation by the president that a temporary 40¢ to 50¢ dollar tax hike has been built into the 1983 budget. That confirmation could come as soon as the end of this month.

After a U.S. tax increase is announced, the economic scenario would be fairly easy to determine. Interest rates around the world would fall. The U.S. dollar would fall. A more broadly based, if slower, economic recovery would be more sustainable. World unemployment rates might even improve.

Where will Canada be? Following dogmatically in the footsteps of our neighbours? Not likely. The problem for Canada is that, while it is difficult to do a whole lot better than the United States, it is not so hard to do a whole lot worse. We have proven that in the past 15 years. We have averaged greater inflation, greater unemployment, sharper declines in output, less vigorous recovery, a greater loss of real income, a sharper fall in relative living standards and a generally higher "discontent" index than our American neighbour.

In tough times, whether they are inflation-tough times or recession-tough times, Canadian economic policymakers, when they are not preparing to leech pass rights-made home-made concoctions on the populace, have tended to blame conditions in the rest of the world. How many times have you heard the Prime Minister tell us, "Everybody has it tough right now?"

Since the Liberal government has spent as little time focusing, worrying, analyzing and pursuing action about long-standing home-grown problems—productivity, favourable taxes, economic industrial, disparate regional wealth, youth unemployment, aging Canadians—what is it going to tell us when everybody else's times are good?

Dick Cohen is a Montreal-based economist writer.



# Questions before the House

Parliament resumed in Ottawa last week amidst growing speculation that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau would resign as leader of the Liberal party. That has long been a staple of conversation in Ottawa. But with three new polls confirming the continued low standing of the Liberals, members on both sides of the House tried to guess if that would push the

battle in a possible year of an election," he declared.

Leading the attack on the bill, just justice critic David Robinson said that it gave "sweeping powers to a cabinet security service to invade the privacy of Canadians." He objected to clauses that will allow the Civilian Security Intelligence Review Service to open first-class mail and examine the income tax returns

of well-known figures. But even these assurances did not placate such critics as Canadian Civil Liberties Association general counsel Alan Borovoy and Ontario's attorney general, Roy McMurtry.

McMurtry particularly objected to language allowing investigation of "foreign-influenced activities that are detrimental to the interests of Canada" and he described such wording as dangerously vague. "Why couldn't it say, 'Is the security of Canada?'" McMurtry asked, adding that the bill was still as badly written as the theory at best, such foreign-based automobile companies as Honda and Toyota could be targets of investigation because they cause economic dislocation.

McMurtry's criticism recalled the sweeping powers the previous version of the bill last spring. At that time opposition parties and the provinces denounced it as a threat to civil liberties in Canada. As a result, former Privy Council clerk Michael Pitblado led a Senate committee that studied the bill and persuaded the government to make extensive changes in the legislation.

Last week several Progressive Conservatives said that the bill was attempts to limit organized lawbreaking. But others, particularly Tory members from Western Canada, maintained that the RCMP should retain control of intelligence.

Away from the spy debate on the floor of the House, its members gathered behind the velvet curtains of the Commons and exchanged theories on the most recent polls. Disparagingly, Liberal members linked a party-commissioned poll that showed them gaining on the Tories as well as a Globe and Mail poll that said the Prime Minister's peace initiative had helped Liberal fortunes. For their part, Tory and NDP members questioned a Gallup poll published the same day which came to the opposite conclusion.

The polls had one immediate effect: they fuelled rumors that Trudeau will resign in February or March. As a result, members of all parties are looking ahead to an election this year and finding it difficult to concentrate on the business at hand.

—REPORTED BY  
SUSAN KELLY in Ottawa



Tory Leader Brian Mulroney, Francis Trudeau, Jeanne Robinson behind the curtain on podium

Prime Minister into retirement—and the country into a general election.

For its part, the government tried to revive its sagging fortunes with the introduction of two important pieces of legislation: a revised security act establishing a civilian spy force and a bill speeding up and simplifying divorce procedures (page 48). Opponents were reacted favorably to the new divorce legislation but they were less charitable about the overhauled security act. Acknowledging the hostility, Attorney General Robert Kaplan admitted that it was unlikely Parliament would pass the bill in what could be an election year. "I don't think the government would be prepared to pursue a long, drawn-out

and health record of anyone it suspects of violent involvement."

Robinson also objected when Kaplan allowed reporters—but not him—a preview of the bill one hour before taking it in the House. The following day, however, newly elected Speaker Lloyd Stutchin ruled that the exclusion of Robinson had not violated his privileges. At the same time, he called for stricter guidelines on outsiders governing legislation before him.

Kaplan, in turn, dismissed Robinson's criticism of his bill, insisting that the new agents would have to convince both a federal judge that a security threat existed before they could obtain warrants allowing them to open mail or



Broadbent (right) with New Democrat MP Ed Doherty. Later (below) a bleak prognosis

## The NDP's fading fortunes

It was billed as the kickoff for a presidential campaign. New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent opened a strained smile and a Florida ten as he unveiled a seven-point program aimed at boosting job security for Canadians.

But instead of the usual pathos speeches about his proposals, Broadbent's press conference last week brought a barrage of inquiries about his party's fading political fortunes. It was another bad day for a party that lately has faced slumping popularity and a scorching internal indictment of its policies and must shift strategies and emphasize different policies in order to survive. "We need a break," admitted a senior NDP strategist. "Something good has to happen soon instead of this endless round of bad luck and bad news."

The party's plight is certainly dismal. A poll conducted for the Toronto Globe and Mail indicated last week that only 18 per cent of Canadians would vote for the party compared to the 30 per cent who supported the vote in the 1988 federal election. Party strategists admit that the party could lose up to 25 of its 31 seats if an election were held now.

Worse still, the problems facing the party may be largely beyond its control. Party strategists believe that because so many Canadians want to get rid of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his Liberal government they have focused

on René Robitaille's Conservatives. That could mean that the NDP will not be able to recover until the Liberals get a new leader or Tory popularity declines.

Despite the bleak prognosis, a spirited, if somewhat strained, mood prevailed among federal NDPers. In February a major campaign aimed at persuading voters to save "the party of tomorrow" will be launched in Manitoba—where Premier Howard Pawley leads the province's sole surviving NDP gov-

ernment—and then spread to three other traditional areas of NDP strength: Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Broadbent planned to hit out that effort with a series of eight policy pronouncements on "a fair economic recovery"—the party's way of saying that it wants workers to get a bigger share of increased corporate profits and other benefits of renewed economic growth.

Starting this week with a tour through Toronto and other Ontario cities, Broadbent will be on the road every second week until midsummer trying to rally the dispirited grassroots. Meanwhile, New Democrat MPs are enacting most foreign travel and much of their committee work to compensate for their counterparts.

As the NDP struggled to gain some new momentum, the party's federal leadership was still simmering over the body blow delivered earlier this month when James Laxer, the party's former research director, wrote headlines with a report that dismissed the New Democrats' economic program as a "hodgepodge of contradictions and dead-end solutions." Laxer, a veteran party

radical who ran against David Lewis for the leadership in 1975—and then threw his support to Broadbent's predecessor—charged that the NDP policies to increase employment would simply serve to boost government deficits and spur inflation. The real road, Laxer wrote, is to make the "Canadian" the nation's manufacturing sector through an investment pool of public money and the targeted use of corporate loans. Some NDPers faulted Laxer's critique as inaccurate and uncandid.





felt the heat. "We one has ever told us there are quotas, but I certainly don't think imposition," said a Toronto accountant who had heard numerous "horror stories."

Any system of tax quotas must inevitably hit hardest at the least affluent, those who lack the resources to take on the government. Said John Bullock, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business: "It's a low-income proposition if the taxes assessed are below a certain figure, it's not worth the aggravation to appeal. And if it is more, the cost of hiring professionals can exceed the tax liability." Bullock's solution would be to make the government pay all costs when taxpayers win appeals.

After admitting the imposition of some quotas, Bensivore and other senior officials insisted that they did not represent government policy. "We have never had quotas," said Harold Dignan, Revenue Canada's assistant deputy minister for policy and systems. "What we have had is an obsession to make the operation effective and efficient. In 98 per cent of the cases we are correct. Two per cent we screw up, and will continue to do so." Other Revenue Canada administrators were more circumspect. Said Paul Shoobert, director of the Toronto regional office: "There are now no quotas in place."

Ontario also denied that Revenue Canada's calculation of taxes currently outstanding—a record \$2.5 billion—has made southern more aggressive. Nor, officials say, has a single department employee been dismissed or reprimanded for failing to meet any quota or filed a grievance based on the imposition of a quota. The Public Service Alliance of Canada, which represents the revenue department's 13,000-member taxation division, offered support for that contention last week. After a meeting with senior Revenue Canada executives, union representatives Gordon Gillespie said that he was satisfied that quotas were no longer being applied and had not been used to damage any career.

Bensivore's decision to bring in an independent investigator may succeed in dissuading his critics that his remarks were deliberate, leading to his ultimate admission that tax quotas did exist, raised questions about the minister's competence. If Bensivore is simply the victim of a vast, complex and perhaps ingenious bureaucracy, he is not alone. A month of heated debate and newspaper headlines on the quota issue only served to erode public trust and confidence in Revenue Canada. "God, I hope it's over," said regional director Shoobert last week. "It discredits the tax administration, and I don't think that serves anybody very well."

—MICHAEL FORNER in Toronto



Prime Minister Jean Chretien close to an agreement before the bells started ringing

## Manitoba's enduring war

Manitoba's protracted language war were no closer to resolution last week as a procedural wrangle in the legislature stifled the NDP government's latest attempt to extend rights and services to the province's francophone minority. Before the Opposition Tories walked out of the House, beginning a four-day impasse, agreement between the two sides over an issue that has divided Manitoba since last May seemed tantalizingly near. Earlier, the government had abandoned its plans for a constitutional amendment that would have given francophones the right to receive certain government services in their own language. Instead, the government wants to include those services in a provincial law which a future legislature could amend if it chose.

For their part, the Progressive Conservatives agreed to changes allowing transition of 600 of the province's 4,500 English-only laws into French. But the Tories balked at constitutional recognition of English and French as official languages and urged the government to withdraw that part of its plan. When Premier Howard Pawley's administration refused, the Tories began their boycott, claiming that the government had violated the order of debate.

Before the breakdown the Conservatives had also dropped a demand that lawyer Roger Blais continue a delayed court challenge of the province's English-only laws. If successful, that challenge could invalidate all Manitoba laws passed since 1980. Faced with that

threat in 1983 the government reacted by offering francophones extended rights and guarantees.

Tampers frayed on both sides of the debate as the legislature's bells rang, summoning members to vote. The government character and the daily departure of Opposition members from the House so rarely another tactic in the Tories' long fight to prevent passage of its proposal. Guy Filman, the new Tory leader, repeated that description, claiming his party had widespread public support. "What we are speaking is being said by 80 per cent of Manitobans," said Filman.

Tact acknowledgment of Filman's assertion came last week from an unexpected source in the province, the Socialist Franco-Manitobain, which represents the province's 20,000 French-speaking citizens. At a subdued first meeting in Winnipeg members voted 908 to 118 to endorse the NDP's modified language plan instead of building up the constitutional guarantees. Leo Robert, the organization's president, said that the NDP proposal was the best language deal francophones could hope to receive. Moreover, during the language debates opponents directed hate mail and even death threats at NDP members. Franco-phones were tired of the controversy and wanted to start enjoying the promised services now, Robert said. That will not happen until the NDP and the Tories resolve their differences over an issue that has for so long stalemated debate resolution.

—ADEEN NIKETOM in Winnipeg

## The Chinese connection

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang's visit to Ottawa went so smoothly last week that its most remarkable event might have been a rare public hope in pressed by Prime Minister Trudeau. At a National Arts Centre gala featuring Les Grand Ballets Canadiens performing a Chinese work inspired by the Red Silk Dream, Trudeau mistook the Chinese national anthem for the opening act. He insisted that Zhao take his seat when a children's choir began to sing and only detected his error when D Canada himself from embarrassment had to be understood and headed the Chinese anthem's first line, "Aren't those who do not wish to be enslaved."

On the more serious aspects of the weeklong Canadian visit, however, both Zhao and Canadian officials pronounced themselves well pleased. In public the premier generally supported Trudeau's disarmament campaign and declared his country open to Canadian trade and investment proposals. Moreover, in private meetings with Trudeau and Canadian ministers he more explicitly confirmed Trudeau's peace plan and read out a shopping list of potential business deals worth billions of dollars. At Zhao, the first Communist leader to

address Parliament, declared in his speech, "We hope Sino-Canadian economic co-operation may set an example of co-operation between developing and developed countries."

After leaving for Montreal, and an eventual departure from Vancouver on Jan. 28, the Chinese delegation proved willing to do more than just talk. While Zhao himself retired to his hotel room

**There was only a minor lapse in protocol as the Chinese endorsed Trudeau's peace plan and hinted at more trade**

suffering from a slight cold, Wang Zhaoguang, head of the Chinese negotiating team that has been in Montreal for several weeks, signed a \$27-million deal with Spar Aerospace Ltd. to build 25 satellite receiving stations in China. Canadian trade officials also took encouragement from a discussion of possible Chinese investment in Canadian resources, citing their specific interest in pulp, paper, potash, timber

and soybean deals. They admitted, however, that Peking has periodically raised such possibilities before without getting involved in joint ventures here.

In fact, both Canada's ambassador to Peking, Michel Giorini, and China's legats in Ottawa, Yu Zhao, were pessimistic about trade breakthroughs in a separate television interview last week. Yu said privately that "one-sided" press often are more attractive than those offered by Canadian firms. And Giorini noted that, since the Chinese are tough bargainers, Canadians could not expect monumental successes.

Zhao moved cautiously while discussing the subject of the Trudeau peace initiative (page B3). At an Ottawa state dinner he said that he appreciated Trudeau's "positive efforts" to ease international tensions. Officials said that Zhao privately endorsed Trudeau's proposal for extended diplomatic action at the United Nations by the five nuclear states—all members of the Security Council. Publicly, however, he refused to specify which elements of the Trudeau proposal he supported or what action China might take to advance them. On disarmament, as in business, the Canadian hosts could only shrug Zhao's wish—"that the use of Sino-Canadian friendship will be in more splendid bloom and bear richer fruit."

—JOHN HAY in Ottawa



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# CANADA'S FORGOTTEN POOR

*It is a time for optimism for most Canadians. The annual profession of economic forecasts and analyses is more encouraging than it has been for years, a genuine sign that Canada has emerged from its worst recession since the 1930s. But an accompanying—and startling—reality is rarely analyzed: in Canada, one of the most affluent nations in the world, the numbers*

*of people living in poverty are actually increasing. The new economic recovery is a blessing for the majority of Canadians who are still working, but it is simply not providing many new jobs. At the same time, the old support systems are leaving increasing numbers of desperate people with barely enough income for survival. Some of them are losing hope.*

By Leonard Shiffrin

**T**he old woman hesitated, then she put the sea of tuna fish back on the supermarket shelf. Maybe next week, when her pension cheque arrives, she will be able to afford it, until then she will make do with toast and tea. In a schoolroom a child cries to concentrate on his lesson, but his mind wanders. He cannot play in the after-school hockey league because there is not enough money in a winter cheque for things like hockey equipment. His mother explained it all to him, and he knows there is nothing she can do about it, it seems unfair.

These are signs of genuine poverty as played out in Canada every day. In 1980, according to Statistics Canada, 25 million Canadians were living within the definition of poverty. In 1982 the number jumped to 31 million. The 1983 figure, which will not be available until fall, will probably be roughly 44 million. After a dozen years of decline, poverty has returned in earnest, largely because of unemployment, and now a syndemic recovery threatens to make poverty a lasting legacy of the great recession.

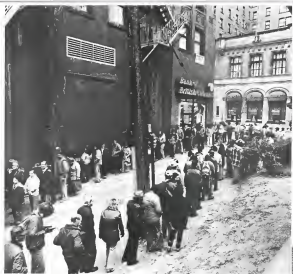
Subsiding the 1930s, churches and social agencies are again attracting long lines at their soup kitchens and depots offering free groceries to the needy. "A few years ago," said Brother Justice Howson of the Little Brothers of the Good Shepherd order, who runs the organization's kitchen in Harsine, Ont., "it would be an unusual day if we served 500 men. Now we often have 300 people in line for the meal." At well, there has been a big change in the kind of people coming for the free meal. It used to be mainly transients, "hobo types," he declared. Now there are people of all ages, including teenagers and even 65-year-olds. "There are not starving children," he added, "just children who are hungry because there is not enough food in the house anymore."

Indeed, Canada's poverty is not the oldest sort found in the Third World. The common measure is what Statistics Can-

ada delicately calls its "low income cutoffs," the levels at which families must spend more than 58.5 per cent of their incomes on the three chief necessities of life: food, shelter and clothing. Because those costs are highest in big cities, Statistics Canada calculates five sets of cutoffs for each size of family, with the lowest set being for rural areas and the highest applying to metropolitan areas with populations of more than 500,000. For a family of four in 1983 the poverty lines ranged from \$24,120 in rural areas to \$19,580 in the largest cities. "Those numbers may seem fairly high," said National Council of Welfare Director Kenneth Baskin, "but the Statistics Canada figures are actually the lowest poverty thresholds anyone has formulated in Canada." Both the Senate committee on poverty and the Canadian Council on Social Development have suggested ways of measuring the phenomena that produce higher poverty lines. "In any event," added Baskin, "most poor Canadians have incomes thousands of dollars below even the lowest of these standards."

**B**etween 1969 and 1980 the proportion of Canadians living in poverty was almost cut in half, to less than 16 per cent from more than 26 per cent. In part, that reflected a variety of government initiatives, matched mainly in the early 1970s, as Ottawa expanded the unemployment insurance program, tripled family allowances, increased pensions for low income senior citizens and raised a spouse's allowance for 60- to 64-year-olds insured to lose income pensioners. At the same time, six provinces established additional supplements for the poorest older people. But that was only part of the explanation for the decline in poverty rates. There was also a major shift of married women into the labor force, increasing the number of two-parent households at the same time that lower birthrates were reducing the number of people to be cared for in those families. Then the crash of unemployment descended, and hundreds of thousands of households suddenly found that the paychecks they counted on had disappeared.

The nature of a society's social safety net is not how



Vancouver lineup for food handouts, a jobless economy recovery could make poverty a lasting legacy of the recession

effective it is in good times but how efficient it is in the bad. The 1982 poverty data published recently by Statistics Canada showed where the nation's safety net held up and where it let people down badly. Single workers were no more successful at holding their jobs than were those with families, but the big increase in poverty levels was in the family categories. That is because Canada's unemployment insurance plan is primarily a system designed for singles, providing benefits high enough to keep one person above the poverty line, but not a family. The most striking demonstration of that was the 1983 experience in the 25 to 34 age bracket. Among singles, the poverty rate actually went down by half a per cent. Among families, it went up by four per cent.

But hardest-hit of all were female-headed, single-parent families, whose already sky-high poverty rate jumped a further eight per cent, driving fully half of those families below the poverty line. That turn from bad to worse is all the more chilling because the number of mother-led families is growing at such a rapid rate that one in six of all families with children is now headed by a single female parent.

The poverty figures for 1982, when unemployment aver-

aged 11 per cent, startled many experts. But the numbers will be even worse for 1983, when the jobless rate increased further to a post-Depression record average of 12.9 per cent. What is more, by the end of last year the unemployment insurance safety net was becoming less effective. In the spring of 1982 the number of people receiving benefits was 25 per cent of the number unemployed. By the fall of 1983 it was down to 72 per cent, despite the efforts of federal and provincial governments to recycle the unemployed back into the unemployment insurance rolls through job creation projects offering just enough weeks of work to qualify participants for another round of benefits.

**A** missing link in Canada's income security system, as the poverty figures demonstrate, is any promise for the children in the families of the unemployed. That was not always the case. From the time of the 1972 expansion of the unemployment insurance program until 1975, when the provision was repealed, unemployed parent insurance used to provide benefits of as much as 75 per cent of former earnings to those with dependents. Now there is a 45-per-cent maxi-

man for everyone and, as a result, the poverty rates for both one- and two-parent families have jumped substantially.

When the federal government repealed the dependency rate provision, it said the measure would no longer be needed because a federal-provincial social supplement scheme was to produce comprehensive income supplement programs for all low income families. Instead, the federal-provincial process collapsed a few months later, producing nothing. Saskatchewan launched its own family allowance supplement for low income households, a program that now provides up to \$66 per month per child. Manitoba later followed with a more modest version, offering \$59 a month per child.

In 1982, with its low income families on unemployment insurance able to collect the supplement, Saskatchewan was the only province in which the poverty rate did not increase. In fact, it actually went down slightly. And in Manitoba, with its smaller supplement, the rate went up by only half the national average. Ottawa had offered to pay two-thirds of the cost of the supplement programs before the federal-provincial negotiations fell apart more than eight years ago. But it has since declined to make the accommodations necessary for such programs to qualify even for the 50-per-cent cost sharing that it provides to traditional welfare programs under the Canada Assistance Plan. Its only move to help low income families was the creation in 1978 of the refundable child tax credit, which now provides mothers with a maximum annual payment of \$344 per child.

For the most part, the federal government's recent anti-poverty efforts have been directed toward pensioners. It increased the guaranteed income supplement for low income senior citizens in 1979 and 1980 and promised another increase in last month's dinner speech. Two years ago Ottawa created the Labor Adjustment Benefits program, which helps some people in the pre-pensioner category. Laid-off workers over the age of 50, if they have spent most of their working lives in an industry designated by the government as undergoing severe economic difficulties, can receive the equivalent of continued unemployment insurance benefits until they turn 65. Qualifying industries can be designated as either a national or a regional basis but, because very few have actually been designated, fewer than 3,000 people are currently receiving benefits under the program.

The most hard-pressed of pre-pensioners are widows, and only a tiny proportion of them qualify for federal benefits. When a person aged 60 to 64 and married to a low income pensioner begins receiving a federal spouse's allowance, she (or in rare cases he) sometimes is not entitled to it until age 65, even if the pensioner-spouse dies before then. But only 6,000 widows and 200 widowers are currently in that situation. Last year Alberta became the first province to try filling the gap by providing the equivalent of a full pension to all low income widows and widowers over the age of 55.

There are just a few programs aimed at the various groups among the poor to reduce Canada's poverty rate to a minimum. "The problem," said Patrick Johnston, executive director of the National Anti-Poverty Organization, "is that poverty does not have a high enough visibility so that governments are pushed to adapt the measures." Every month Statistics Canada provides updates on how many people are unemployed and what is happening to welfare. But poverty figures are only reported annually and not until almost the end of the following year. "If Canada had a monthly poverty index and we had been getting new statements of the bad news every 30 days for the past two years," added Johnston, "there would have been such a groundswell of demand for government action that maybe by now the poverty news would not be bad anymore." ☐

Devoored, 37, and a father of four, Arthur Goudie of Amherst, N.S., has two formidable adversaries in his struggle against poverty. One is the fragile economy, which the farmer owns and operator blames for his inability to find steady work since he was laid off three years ago when a local steel company closed down. The other is the Nova Scotia government, which refuses to pay Goudie's family benefits, even though he supports the children. Under provincial law, family benefits—which would amount to substantially more than Goudie's \$111 a week from unemployment insurance—are paid to single par-

ents only if they are women. In the fall of 1981 Goudie's suit out to challenge the law but was finally defeated in the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia last June.

Goudie's total income last year from unemployment insurance and intermittent work was \$2,800. Besides unemployment insurance payments, Goudie also receives about \$100 monthly in federal family allowance for his children, aged 11 to 15. He spends about \$80 a week for food and, once he pays the bills (Goudie owns his small house), he must pay his ex-wife \$30 a month to purchase her share of the house). There is little money left. To save money, he quit smoking last year and instead of now he goes his children clothes and boots for Christmas. As well, he asked his sister to give him several rolls of

wallpaper for Christmas to upgrade the house. His one treat to himself during the festive season was a case of beer.

Still, while Goudie tries to remain cheerful, he is finding it difficult to deal with the constant sadness and isolation. "One of the worst parts of it is being home all the time with no money to get out—to go somewhere," he said. "I have not been to a dance since I don't know when. I feel like an old maid, stuck in the house all the time."

Although he realizes that the recession has a lot to do with his situation, Goudie also blames himself because he left school after Grade 10. "I could have moved for not staying in school longer," he said. "I would tell people, if you have a good job, hang onto it. Do not lose it."



**A**t 61, Bert Vakey says that his life has gone full circle—from destitution to destitution. When Vakey was a child in Newfoundland during the Depression, his family often experienced severe poverty, especially when his Salerian father had a bad season. But Vakey, himself a father of five and a concrete janitor who has been out of work since the mid-1970s, said that he is facing even greater hardship now than in the 1930s. "I have had it worse in the past 12 months than I ever did since the day I was born," he said.

Vakey, his wife, Remona, 50, and their children, aged 15 to 25, have been struggling for more than a decade to avoid poverty. But they say that they began to lose the battle a year ago, when a chimney fire destroyed their substandard house in Harbour Grace, on the west side of Conception Bay. Provincial authorities moved them to a public housing development on the outskirts of St. John's, but they have found it difficult to adapt to their new home. The Vakeys were on welfare even before they left Harbour Grace, but Bert Vakey says that his family could manage then because elder sons William, 25, and Kerne, 23, brought in extra income from casual labor or jobs in local fish plants. But in St. John's none of the Vakeys' five children who are not still in school have been able to find work, mainly because they can scarcely read or write. At the same time, Bert and Remona say they are not healthy enough to work themselves.

The family receives \$450 a month from social assistance, in addition to almost \$60 in monthly family allowance payments for the two youngest children. They do not pay rent, but they have to lay out an average of roughly \$140 a month for heating. The lack of money and jobs is taking a severe toll. Said Bert Vakey: "My wife and I are not getting along none of us are. My 15-year-old daughter came round to kill herself since we came here, and my wife was in the hospital for the same thing [taking an overdose of medication] in September." The family has become dependent on the Salvation Army and other charities. Added Remona Vakey: "We are beggars, and me and my husband and children are not used to that. If changes are not made soon here, that family is going to be broken up."



**M**arlene Fidler, 26 and twice divorced, lives with two of her children, Aaron, 9, and Jordan, 7, in an old downtown Vancouver hotel, The Hazelwood, on the fringes of the city's slum. "I don't mind it here, but I don't like it for the kids," she said. "It is hard to judge people around here. You just do not trust the people." But it is hard to find better accommodation when a social worker advised her not to spend more on rent than \$100 out of the \$700 that she receives in welfare payments.

Fidler has been on welfare since she

was laid off as a waitress two years ago. She has lived in the hotel ever since she moved to Vancouver from Saskatchewan three years ago, after leaving her husband. There is a padlock on her door to discourage thieves, but there is little of value inside—a bed and dresser in one room, and a bed, one chair, a desk, a small fridge, a sink and a two-burner hotplate in the other. There is no telephone and she shares a hallway bathroom with other residents. The one luxury is a small color TV. Said a social worker: "I would feel better if I had a different place, with a bathroom and a kitchen. Other than that, I think I'm doing okay. I keep things to myself." Then, she added, "I don't say I'm on welfare, more or less because I'm ashamed."

Job hunting is frustrating, because she has few skills; her father made her learn about early to look after her brothers and sisters. Now her main challenge is stretching the welfare cheque each month. "I borrow from friends and pay them back when I get my cheque. Then, before the third week is up, I've got to borrow again. It goes like that from month to month," she said.

Fidler needed a costume for her welfare to buy clothing for her children this month. She gets her own second-hand clothing from a weekly shop. Concluded Fidler: "I was better off when I was working. I was bringing home the bread. This way you are dependent on someone else."



**F**or Sandra Sundquist, a poverty-level income means constantly having to say "no" to her five children, ages 7 to 16. The 32-year-old Surrey, B.C., divorcee, who has relied on public assistance since her marriage ended nine years ago, had to rule out Cab Sweets for her son Robert, 9, because she could not afford the \$35 registration fee. Nor could she allow 12-year-old Cathy to join Girl Guides, because Sundquist does not have a car to drive her daughter to the meeting hall. Recently, some of the children wanted to go to the Joe Capades, but that, too, was unaffordable—as are movies. "Sometimes the kids will run to their bedrooms crying and say, 'You don't like me,'" said Sundquist. "But I know when they are older they will understand."

Sundquist faces formidable obstacles as she tries to support her family with the \$582.59 a month she receives from welfare and family allowance. She last worked full-time, stacking shelves at Woolco, 11 years ago. Since then the responsibilities of motherhood have forced her to occasional part-time work. The 3000-sq-ft apt. on her five-bedroom house is provided by the province, but Sundquist still has to pay \$180 a month for heating oil. She makes her own jams, jellies, bread and baked goods, and every fall she buys a few hundred pounds of vegetables to store in the garage. "But lots of times, we do not have money for meat for weeks," said Sundquist, "or we go far weeks without milk—and that bothers me." Sundquist is somewhat better with clothing because she is a skilled seamstress and has a sewing machine. Besides making a lot of her children's clothes, she sews clothes and crafts for other people in order to barter for food and other necessities.

At times, the problems become overwhelming for Sundquist. "When my kids go to bed at night and I am all alone, I think, 'Is it always going to be like this?'" she admitted. But, for the most part, Sundquist retains her optimism. "I have a house that looks reasonably nice," she said. "I have a lot of friends. Poor" is the people in other countries you see on television who do not have any food and who live in shacks. I feel very fortunate."



**F**redrick Robertson, 46, has been separated from his wife and two sons for 14 years because of unemployment. He has not even had enough money to visit them in Blaine, Alta.—a \$14.99 bus trip from Calgary where he is looking for work—since October. Robertson said that his "surviving, not living" on \$97 a week from unemployment insurance benefits. He cannot afford to telephone his 12- and 14-year-old sons because neither he nor his wife, who is on welfare, can afford a telephone.

Only four years ago Robertson was living relatively comfortably in Victoria and working in a hotel desk clerk. But as interest rates increased he found it difficult to meet his mortgage payments. As a result, he decided to leave Victoria three years ago, and that is when his descent into poverty began. Robertson moved with his family to their native Blaine. But there was no work there, and he went on alone to Calgary to look for a job. He eventually found a \$4.00-an-hour position as a

dishwasher and later as a short-order cook for a Calgary restaurant. But four months ago, after one year in that job, the restaurant closed. Now he has given up on any chance of going back to the hotel business. "Things happen to poor people," he said. "I'm sitting here with no upper denture plate, my hair is down to my neck, I do not have a decent suit. I could not present myself to the front desk of a hotel like this."

Robertson can scarcely afford to buy food for himself on \$97 a week. He said that he has difficulty cashing his weekly unemployment insurance cheques at most banks because he has no bank account of his own. As a result, he takes them to a broker, who subtracts a \$3 service charge. That leaves him with \$82, and \$56 of that is used to pay rent.

When he is not looking for a job, Robertson works as a volunteer at Calgary's Unemployed Action Centre, where he counsels other impoverished people and hands out food hampers. "I talk to guys in here who were making \$20,000 a year a couple of years ago, and all they can say now is, 'I never thought I would have to do this,'" Robertson said. "It drives you crazy and makes you bitter."





**I**t is difficult for Patricia Watson of Nanaimo, B.C., to ask her two teenage daughters to drink only one glass of milk or orange juice a day. And it hurt to tell 16-year-old Jennifer recently that she would have to wear a bra-up, three-year-old coat again this winter because there was no money for a new one. "It is just all the little things like that that add up," said Watson, a 36-year-old former bookkeeper who lost her job a year and a half ago when business slowed down. Since then, she has exhausted her unemployment insurance and resorted to welfare. Jennifer, Patricia and her common-law husband, Wayne Beuchard, 36, live in 1940s a month in welfare, as well as \$29.35 monthly in federal family allowance (Daughter Carol, 14, has been in a foster home since October because of learning and behavioral problems.)

Lila Watson, Beuchard has exhausted his unemployment benefits. "I cannot give my family what I think a man should be able to give his family," he said. He has held several jobs in the past, as a sales manager, but the only work he has been able to find during the past year and a half was a job shoveling gravel on a construction site—and that lasted only a few weeks. The transition to unemployment and distress has been tough. "I was more or less a workaholic," said Beuchard, "and stopping dead after 22 years was a real blow to the system." It is still a struggle to keep his spirits up. "It is a waiting game, and you just have to bear with it. You just have to keep yourself in the right frame of mind," he said.

Both Watson and Beuchard say that the fight against depression is a difficult one when they are left with only \$648 a month after paying bills, including \$400 rent for their three-bedroom house. It means that they cannot buy food because it is too expensive, they can seldom use their car because of the cost of gas. Meanwhile, Watson says that she has almost given up all hope of finding a job. "I have called every bank, every department store, every place that has financial jobs," she said. "The banks just laughed. They said, 'You can come down and put in your application, but every three months we just throw them away.' Beuchard tries to be philosophical about his plight. "We all got spoiled in the good old days, back when we worked," he said.



**C**lude Beaudry, like many other Canadians in 1994, has been out of work so long that he no longer qualifies for unemployment insurance. For him, poverty does not just involve lacking pension and frantically searching for another job. It is also a form of psychological oppression. "It makes me feel like nothing. If you want to know the real truth," said Beaudry, a 31-year-old Beaudry father of three sons, aged 1 to 8, who was laid off for a second time by Inco Ltd. at the end of 1992. "It is not something to be proud of. Every man wants to be able to provide for his own family on his own." Added his wife, Deborah Ann, 28: "I'm sure that there is enough food to eat, that the kids are not going to starve."

After losing his \$9.25-an-hour labourer's job, Beaudry collected unemployment insurance until the eligibility period expired last July. His family now depends on \$648 a month from welfare (up from \$614 last year) and \$29.35 in federal family allowance payments. Beaudry said that as they began to adjust to not having any money, their car and television both broke down, aggravating the boredom and sense of claustrophobia.

Meanwhile, their financial situation has become desperate. Last October Beaudry took a job as a door-to-door vacuum cleaner salesman and borrowed \$300 from a finance company. But Beaudry had little success selling a relatively expensive item in a community where many people are unemployed and he gave up after a month. Now Beaudry is three months behind on his \$76 monthly payments for the loan, and he is concerned that his furniture or his broken-down car will be confiscated. The family has had to turn to the Salvation Army, the Roman Catholic Church and the United Brotherhood—Beaudry's former union—for help at times when even their welfare money runs out.

For now, the Beaudrys are looking forward to moving into a \$120-a-month, four-bedroom apartment in a public housing development after a 1½-year wait—a welcome change from their \$320, two-bedroom flat. Still, the Beaudrys expect that life will remain a grim struggle unless Canada finds another job. He is often depressed and irritable, and he is now convinced that only a "miracle" will create more work. "I don't know what I'm going to do," he said. "I have to find a way to pay that finance company."



Shells; security conference in session; dismay and alarm over the deepening freeze in East-West relations

## WORLD

# In search of peace in Sweden

By Marel McDonald

**T**he dispute at Stockholm's Arlanda airport set the tone for the stormy week of East-West re-examination that followed. When Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko disembarked from his Republic 25 jet for the opening of the 35-nation Conference on Security and Disarmament in Europe, Swedish customs officials accidentally seized a cache of Soviet samaras from his delegation's luggage. Then, the Soviets told the Swedish foreign secretary that they would return to Moscow unless their samaras were liberated. The misunderstanding was quickly straightened out. But two days later, in a far more turbulent mood, Gromyko launched a blistering attack on Washington's "pathological obsession" with a military buildup and on its "maniacal plans around the globe."

Gromyko made it clear that the Kremlin had dismissed President Ronald Reagan's new tone of consultation, delivered on national television on the eve of the conference, as nothing more than a suspicious re-election ploy. Later, Gromyko's five-hour private meet-

ing with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz—the first since their notorious exchange over last year's Korean airliner incident—ended in a standoff. That the Soviets entered the meeting with that result in mind was underlined by TASS's release of that same three hours before the meeting ended.

## Gromyko's blistering anti-U.S. rhetoric dashed any prospect of a swift return to the nuclear bargaining table

The Kremlin seemed determined not to do anything to improve the re-election chances of a president who branded the Soviet Union an "evil empire" 10 months ago. Not only that, as Internal Affairs Minister Allan Medvedev acknowledged after his own four-hour meeting with Gromyko, but the Soviet administration seems genuinely concerned that Reagan and Shultz are warmongers. Indeed, virtually the only op-

timistic development during the conference was Prime Minister Perce Tredder's announcement in Ottawa that he will set off on the third stage of his peace mission with a visit to three Eastern European capitals starting this week. But even that bulletin failed to dispel the gloom that gripped Stockholm, where falling temperatures coincided with the 600 delegates' own gloom over a deepening East-West freeze. As one Eastern Bloc delegate declared, "For those issuing a disarmament call to peace, Stockholm seems to be degenerating into a call to nonfraternization."

The expectations for progress at the Stockholm conference were guarded from the outset. The meeting was originally intended to salvage some semblance of accomplishment from the rhetorical workshop left after the three-year Madrid security conference which ended last fall. The main thrust of the conference was intended to be diverted at reducing the risk of surprise attack by conventional forces in Europe. Only after the Soviet delegation sharply walked out of the intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) talks in Geneva, following the arrival of Washington's

Gromyko arriving in Stockholm (right), Modlau: behind the verbal pyrotechnics, a failure to agree even on an agenda

armies and Pershing II missiles in Europe, did Stockholm suddenly become a last glimmer of hope for a thaw in the East-West front.

That glimmer turned into a burst of false optimism when Reagan produced the conference with an about-face from his three years of anti-Soviet tirades. The president's major televised address, the contents of which were leaked in advance to the Soviet and Western media, was clearly designed to improve relations at the Stockholm meeting. Reagan conceded that Washington's relations with Moscow were not as close as they should be. Then he contended that the deployment of missiles in Europe would Washington to negotiate more effectively by giving it greater strength in Europe with

Bill, Moscow dismissed his cozy-friendship ties with modals and abstractions. Democratic opponents in the United States and in some European capitals also doubted Reagan's sincerity. At Washington's liberal-oriented Brookings Institution, director of foreign policy studies John Steinbrunner scorned Reagan of inconsistency. "A speech seems setting when your actions move in the opposite direction," said Steinbrunner. "It is as though the Soviets will be looking at, a continuing military buildup." In London, the Financial Times newspaper characterized the speech as "mood music designed to deflect critics at home and abroad." But in Stockholm, French Foreign Minister Claude Chirac welcomed the change

in tone. Still, he added, "Who can believe that confidence can be restored by simple declarations?"

Western diplomats attributed the Soviet's interventionist mood to the Politburo's paralysis during President Yuri Andropov's mysterious illness. Delegates were also surprised when Shultz followed Reagan's peace-setting speech with what they considered to be a provocative address. Shultz questioned the legitimacy of the "artificial barriers" that have divided Eastern and Western Europe since 1945. With that the White House signalled the Kremlin that, while its rhetoric may have moderated, it does not intend to give up its almost evangelical ideological campaign against Soviet human rights violations. Moscow regards such statements as interference in its domestic affairs. As Medvedev said, "It only causes irritation. I do not think the Soviet Union will like it very much."

Gromyko ignored the specific U.S. allegations in his scorching 20-page speech the following day, but in an inflammatory series of epithets he stated what he considered to be the European administration's provocation. He criticized Washington's

"backyard plays," "criminal and dishonest methods" and addiction to military aggression. He also aired his criticism at areas beyond the limits of the conference's region of concern—Europe. In Lebanon, Gromyko alleged, the "U.S. war machine" had sown "death and destruction." In Grenada, Washington had carried out "a premeditated act of terrorism." In El Salvador, all that was missing were "the howlers of the bourgeoisie."

Gromyko appeared to close the door on any quick resumption of nuclear weapons negotiations by restating the Soviet insistence that missile deployment in Europe had reinforced the "imperialist" line. Even delegates who had expected a tough Kremlin line were shocked by the bitterness of his attack. Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans called it "cheap stuff." For his part, Modlau acknowledged that it was tougher than expected. "Coming from one of the Politburo's most venerable members, at a tense and crucial diplomatic session, most analysts interpreted the address as a signal that the Kremlin had given up hope of winning concessions from the Reagan



administration, at least until after the presidential election in November.

Gromyko's private meeting with Shultz was the centerpiece. It lasted two hours and 30 minutes beyond its scheduled three-hour allotment, but senior administration officials emerged grim and uncharacteristically noncommittal from the stark five-story Soviet Embassy complex, located on a wooded, broad-in-belt in Stockholm's western suburbs. As Shultz later acknowledged, Gromyko abandoned some of his verbal exaggeration but none of his intransigence. The Soviet foreign minister did hint later to Swedish and West German officials that Moscow may resume the Vienna talks on conventional (MTR) as early as mid-March. But he gave no indication of movement in any other area.

Indeed, MacLachlan later concluded from his own hour-long meeting under the Soviet Embassy's inside chandeliers that he would try to persuade Trudeau to hold off his anticipated resignation until the Prime Minister can carry his peace mission to Moscow.

Tensions within the pine-paneled conference hall were also heightened by the belated issuance of the final draft. First that failed in an hour of negotiations in the ninth-floor media center. As Gromyko was denouncing the deployment of U.S.

missiles in Europe, TASS released a carefully timed report that Red Army soldiers are receiving "training night and day" on Soviet-made guided missiles which are being installed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia as a countermeasure to the cruise and Pershing. And as Shultz was promising to introduce a draft for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, a report from Washington claimed that the Pentagon was asking Congress for an allotment in its 1986 budget to begin the production of deadly nerve gas. Other dispatches from Washington ordered the administration's new dovish line. Among them: informed speculation that the Pentagon is preparing to test-fire a new three-stage rocket designed to destroy satellites. That revived fears of an arms race in outer space. Then Moscow released a suggestion that the Soviet team might not attend next summer's Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

As the delegates exchanged denunciations, 60 representatives of peace movements from Europe, the United States and Canada conducted their own parallel three-day congress. On the eve of the conference, Western alliance foreign ministers worked out their strategy at the Helsinki summit. The British came a dinner of lobster and saddle of venison, washed down by Chateau Haut Brion 1978. While they dined, the peace-



Most German protest ever? Tankers' display in the wake of a tank

also not down to a simple vegetarian diet of soup and salad in a bookshop to work out new tactics to counter missile deployment in Western Europe. Red Chairman Wim Eekels of Holland's Interchurch Peace Council "We do not feel defeated. Our membership are constantly growing."

That sense of optimism was shared by some of the permanent conference delegates. They agreed that when the 25 countries and 1,400 journalists leave Stockholm this week, they can begin to negotiate seriously. Scheduled to last three years, the Stockholm talks may produce some compromise on conventional force modernization in Europe. But so far East and West have failed to agree on what to talk about, even within the Stockholm mandate. The Soviet Union and its satellites want to turn the conference into a forum embracing nuclear arms control. The NATO partners propose a more modest, step-by-step package of confidence-building measures—CBMs in diplomatic jargon. Under that plan both sides would give as much as three months' advance notice of troop movements from the Atlantic to the Gulf, provide for verification of any agreements reached and agree to no nuclear first-strike attacks. The biggest sticking block in verification, which Gromyko described as looking "for a crack in the fence to

jump at one's neighbors." But as an indication that they may eventually be prepared to agree to some of the proposals, the Soviets sent an unusually high-powered delegation to Stockholm. Its second-in-command was Igor Adasov, the Soviet leader's son.

Some analysts contend that currently the Soviets' prime objective is to forge a European reassurance pact, which could eventually lead to a collective security agreement. That would effectively eliminate the U.S. military presence—a longtime Kremlin goal—and accomplish what some Pentagon forecasters describe as the "Eurodeterioration," or neutralization, of Washington's allies.

But a security agreement of any kind seemed to be a distant prospect at best. Indeed, opening the Stockholm conference, in fact, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, warned that "disagreements all but ceased and the network of co-operation has been weakened." As the foreign ministers stepped out of their limousines for a royal gala performance of The Nutcracker at Stockholm's ornate opera house, peace marchers stood silently in the snow, with lit torches under a banner that read, "The world is smoking." They kept their faces turned before their faces are used by better East-West and outstanding. With William Lonsdale in Washington.

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Trudeau with Zhao on an occasion the Prime Minister was prepared to counter

## Trudeau alters course

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's ingenuitously tried to bring along Soviet President Yuri Andropov was brief and vague. It seemed Trudeau of the Kremlin's general support for his peace initiative and it said that Andropov would like to discuss the matter personally. But the answer to Trudeau's request for an early date to meet in Moscow was quiet. Andropov, who has not appeared in public since last August, offered only to not a date for discussions in the not-so-distant future. Do not ask me if that is five days or 50," said Trudeau, who has been trying for weeks to fix a firm appointment.

The Moscow visit is a vital phase of Trudeau's arms control campaign, and his indefinite postponement had officials in Trudeau's office to hasten their efforts to complete either preparations for a visit through Eastern Europe. In Stockholm for the European security conference, Allan MacEachern spent much of his time in bilateral meetings arranging planned meetings with Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, East German Chairman Erich Honecker and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. MacEachern received confirmation from East Berlin only 10 minutes before he was scheduled to announce the visit to journalists.

Western diplomats in Stockholm expressed concern that Trudeau might help to legitimize the East German claim to the city as its capital by visiting it. Officially both East and West

Berlin are still under the jurisdiction of four of the wartime allies—the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

But, the new treaty lends symmetry to Trudeau's neutrality. He has already lobbied some non-Communist leaders—in the United States, Europe and Japan—and won support from his long-standing allies at the Commonwealth conference in New Delhi. Trudeau has tried throughout the campaign to pressure the two superpowers into giving new political agency to the armed arms control negotiations. He has also proposed joint arms control undertakings by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—which are also the five powers that possess nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them.

Seamus said that the plan won the support last week of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang during his visit to Ottawa. But Zhao reiterated China's expectation that the real issue for nuclear disarmament lies with the superpowers. It was an argument that Trudeau was prepared to counter. Said the Prime Minister: "We cannot wait until the United States and the Soviet Union, pursuing some internal superpower logic, are ready to reach agreement. We must demonstrate our stake in their deliberations and force their attention to the threat to which they subject the rest of mankind." Now he is waiting to engage Andropov's attention directly. ☐

## THE UNITED STATES

### Congress plans a stormy year

Political Washington's midwinter hiatus ends this week with the return of Congress for what promises to be a contentious election year session. The forecast for the 1985 deficit now places it in the \$200-billion (U.S.) range, and debate between the administration and congressional Democrats over responsibility for the deficit will take up much of the session. But Congress will also grapple with defense and delicate issues ranging from immigration laws and Central America to Beirut and Iran, all with a wary eye to the Nov 5 elections.

The session's central theme will likely revolve out of President Ronald Reagan's third State of the Union address this week. Reagan was expected to claim credit for the U.S. economy's vigorous recovery but warn that "big questions" in Congress are threatening its strength and duration. For their part, Democrats will try to draw the responsibility for the deficit onto Reagan's tax breaks for wealthy Americans and his \$1.5-trillion five-year military buildup. At the same time, any possibility of a consensus developing on how to reduce the deficit will dimly as the presidential and congressional elections draw closer. A \$100-billion package of tax increases and spending cuts proposed last year by Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole (R-Kan.) may be introduced in a revised form but it will meet strong administration resistance. Similarly, even close Reagan allies agree that some form of tax increase is necessary in order to lessen the need for government borrowing.

But House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill, for one, insists that Reagan must bear some of the political responsibility for any new taxes. "If there is to be a tax increase to cut the deficit," he said, "it has to be laid on the shoulders of the White House because it is their deficit." The weakness of both parties' congressional leadership is also complicating the search for any budgetary compromise. Senate majority leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) has announced that he will not run for another term in office. In the House, O'Neill has indicated that he too will step down from his post by 1986. Besides governing a complex set of backstage maneuverings by self-interest, the leadership's resignation has made it difficult to impose discipline on either side of the aisle.

Revisions to the budget will be narrowed in debate over Central American policy. Administration requests for increased aid to El Salvador will face a sharp attack from Democrats who are angered by Reagan's spending last year of a law requiring the White House to certify twice a year that that country is making progress in honoring human rights. If the administration introduces legislation calling for a large-scale arms and aid program for Central America—such as the \$4 billion proposal made by a commission chaired by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger—conservatives who are wary of foreign aid in general may join liberal critics in opposing it.

The status of the Marine force in Beirut may also lead to fierce debate between the White House and an oddly assorted right-left coalition from both parties. All eight Democratic presidential candidates, convinced that there is broad public concern over the Marines' vulnerability and their lack of a clear mission, favor either withdrawing the force or replacing it with UN-authorized troops. And some congressmen will likely attempt to limit the 18-month mandate of the Marine force by introducing legislation setting a more immediate deadline. Right-wing congressmen and senators opposed to "no win" military engagements may support such action.

There will also be a renewed version of last year's failed immigration bill. The fate of these revisions will depend on a renewal of trust between O'Neill and Reagan. The 1984 version, which would have limited illegal immigration while granting an amnesty to most undocumented immigrants now in the United States, foundered under attacks from Hispanic congressmen who are wary of discrimination against Hispanic immigrants. O'Neill is concerned that if the Democratic House passes a new, slightly revised version, Reagan—despite his indication of support—may veto the bill, leading to carry-fuse with Spanish-speaking voters.

As well, in the last congressional session the problem of aid and arms became a pressing political issue. No less than a dozen bills to stem the outflows of U.S. power plants and factories will be introduced this session—with bipartisan backing in the House of Congress. The Reagan administration's recent suggestion that "accelerated study" of the issue may be all that is needed could well be overwhelmed. In fact, the White House announced last week that it will issue its proposals to deal with the problem by late 1985. Environmentalists doubt that the recommendations will signal a significant shift in Reagan's thinking on the subject, but it is election-conscious Washington anything is possible.

—LENN GILSON in New York

## PERU

### A risky borderline dispute

The battle in the Amazonian rain forest was the latest in what has become almost an annual ritual. Within days of the anniversary of the 1942 Protocol of Rio de Janeiro, which defines the border between Ecuador and Peru, troops of the two countries exchanged fire last week in the arid Atacama basin, 1,500 km north of the Peruvian capital of Lima. The shelling, which resulted in one death and one wounding, ended the same day. Still, it was a reminder of a 102-year-old threat to stable relations between the two countries. Ecuador, which has renounced the Rio treaty, claims large portions of Peruvian territory in the border area—an area that provides vital oil supplies to both nations. Indeed, Ecuador has refused to mark a 75-km

border's view President, León Roldós, attacked Peru's President Hernando Roldós claimed that Ecuador was becoming too conciliatory toward the Peruvian regime of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Belaúnde managed to turn aside the criticism and maintain the support of the officers corps by considering its members that opposition did not mean capitulation. Still, the issue has colored the campaign leading to this Sunday's presidential election.

In Peru the issue is an explosive factor as well. In an attempt to cut the country's \$12-billion foreign debt, the Belaúnde Terry government last year implemented unpopular austerity measures, including the gradual removal of gas and food subsidies, which increased the price of staples by 125 per cent. To



Belaúnde Terry, there is a risk of alienating nationalist elements in the armed forces

stretch of the border. Peru is equally obstinate. Said Prime Minister Fernando Belaúnde after last week's clash: "With nuclear or without them, Peru's frontier with Ecuador is clearly defined."

The dispute began in 1920, when Ecuador broke away from the Great Colombia Federation. The newly independent government had claim to 125,000 square miles of Peruvian territory and in 1941 fought a brief war against Peru to enforce an demands. Peruvian fighting has continued. Neither country can afford a lengthy war, but they will not risk alienating the ultranationalist elements in their armed forces by being the first to promote a peaceful solution. Indeed, after a one-day battle in 1982,

November the governments suffered a major defeat in municipal elections. Militant parties gained control of 16 of the nation's major cities.

An unsuccessful war against a guerrilla organization known as the Sendero Luminoso has also undermined the Belaúnde government. The outbreak has been responsible for 1200 deaths in the past year. Last week the governments of both Peru and Ecuador made it clear that they both want to contain the dispute. Said Roldós: "Our strategy is not to magnify border tensions." But neither both nations facing crises, the governments may be tempted to evade a pacific diversion by renewing the conflict in the rain forest.

—MICHAEL L. SMITH in Lima



# "We have to rethink the ways we develop and manage policies."

Mike Bregazzi

Vice-President Planning and Development, Gulf Canada Limited

In our submission to the Macdonald Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, Gulf Canada suggested initiatives in ten areas that we believe to be key in dealing with the Canadian economy of the future. Obviously, we do not expect that all Canadians will agree with our proposals. But we do believe that it is important for all Canadians to be looking now for ways to cope with the changes we are going to face in the future - because these changes will affect everybody.

Canada cannot afford the luxury of sitting back for some indefinite period to study our difficulties.

Our competitors on the world scene are moving now. If we are to maximise our potential, we must move to respond to this challenge.

The ten areas that we believe to be particularly important in dealing with the uncertainties that Canadians are going to continue to face are:

- ☐ Adjustment to World Economic Developments
- ☐ Public Policy Formulation
- ☐ Industrial Strategies
- ☐ Labour
- ☐ Trade
- ☐ Research & Development
- ☐ Competition
- ☐ Government Spending and Regulation
- ☐ Foreign Investment
- ☐ Energy Policy

Here is a summary of what we said in six of these areas in our submission to the Royal Commission

## 1. Adjustment to World Economic Developments

For several reasons, many of them valid, Canadian industrial policies have typically been designed to preserve the existing industrial structure rather than change it.

But failure to adjust carries a price tag.

Perpetuating uneconomical in-

dustries ultimately contributes to domestic inflation and even more severe adjustments.

In general, both industry and labour are capable of adjusting to altered market conditions without Government involvement.



Mike Bregazzi is Vice-President Planning and Development for Gulf Canada Ltd. Mike was born in Middleborough, England, and earned B.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees from London University. During his two decades with Gulf, he has worked in a variety of areas including Research and Development, Chemicals, Corporate Planning, Pipelines, Marketing and until recently was Vice-President, Production & Development. Gulf Canada Resources Inc. One of Mike's favourite pastimes is golfing with his son Steven.

For instance, in response to declining demand, Canada's petroleum industry shut down 44 per cent of its refining capacity in eastern Canada between 1979 and 1983.

In exceptional circumstances - where an entire industry is threatened - Government assistance should be time-limited and aimed at alleviating the structural changes that will take place.

## 2. Public Policy Formulation

Getting through the restructuring and dislocations that Gulf Canada's forecasters are expecting will require close co-operation among Government, labour and business.

In recent months there have been some encouraging signs. The Federal Government has been placing greater emphasis on consultation.

We at Gulf Canada have received support from a number of quarters for our proposal to create a small advisory group made up of representatives from the three sectors.

However, despite these encouraging signs Canada still has no mechanisms to facilitate consultation.

Whatever approach is taken, Canadians must start working together to solve our problems and plan for our future.



This addition to Gulf's Edmonton Refinery cost \$260 million. Over 80% of this money was spent in Canada to pay for technology, engineering, labour, electronics, steel, concrete. These millions of dollars flow to provinces across Canada creating jobs from coast to coast. Gulf Canada believes that the petroleum industry can be a major long-term contributor to the nation's future. Under a modified fiscal regime, the industry would have more money for the exploration and development activities that not only contribute to Canada's energy supply but also stimulate the creation of jobs.

## 3. Industrial Strategies

There has been little unity or coherence to Canadian industrial policy. For instance, energy, foreign investment and competition policies differ at cross purposes to our trade and economic development objectives.

There is a need for a co-ordinated approach to economic policy involving trade, taxation, competition, labour, research and development, industrial and stabilization policies.

This does not mean greater Government involvement in the affairs of specific industries but rather a co-ordinated approach to economic policies.

Government should give direction and facilitate the adjustments.

But the decentralised marketplace should provide the basis for resource allocation decisions.

## 4. Government Spending & Regulation

Governments in Canada impose a multitude of regulations on virtually all of our actions.

Some of it is necessary.

But the extent to which we have become a regulated, provided-for society is excessive, intrusive and very costly.

Spending is out of control. The deficit continues to mount.

Governments, at all levels, need to reassess their priorities and programs to determine those that are both necessary and affordable.

## 5. Foreign Investment

Historically, foreign investment has contributed significantly to the growth of the Canadian economy.

Recent policies that have discouraged foreign investment have been largely political in nature - motivated by nationalism rather than economic arguments.

Screening of foreign investment may be considered desirable.

But it should be done in a straightforward, efficient manner to avoid discouraging an important contribution to economic growth for Canada.

## 6. Energy Policy

The National Energy Program must be reviewed.

To quote from a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper. In its first two years of existence, the NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to deal with. A reassessment of Canada's energy objective is already overdue."

As a start, Gulf Canada recommends the following measures:

- ☐ Eliminate the discriminatory aspects of Petroleum Incentive Payments (PIPs) and introduce an explicit tax incentive system that treats companies equitably
- ☐ Eliminate the back-in provision that allows the Federal Government to claim, retroactively, 25 per cent of discoveries
- ☐ Stimulate industry activity - and thus job creation - by taking less money out of the industry. Under the current system, money that could be going toward finding and developing new petroleum energy is taxed away before we have a chance to reinvest it. If the money is not reinvested, then tax us. But give the industry a chance to make a greater contribution to Canada's economic recovery.

For the complete text of Gulf Canada's submission to the Macdonald Royal Commission, write to:

Bob Fessner,  
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Dept. 401M,  
Gulf Canada Limited,  
130 Adelaide Street W.,  
Toronto, Ontario M5H 3B6



GULF CANADA LIMITED

Over the past five years Lily Schreyer has attempted to bring culture to Rideau Hall. Under her guidance Government House has hosted film premieres, displays of native art and an Irish dance show. Fittingly, last week saw the first in a series of four cultural events on the eve of the Schreyer's departure as Governor General. CBC Stereo and TV will simulcast the tape of the event in English and French this Sunday. About 150 guests assembled in the ballroom to listen to such artists as the Oxford String Quartet, soprano Rosemarie Loney and concert pianist Jon Kim Parker, playing on one of the late Glenn Gould's pianos. Annette Av Paul, principal dancer with Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, made her first appearance at Rideau Hall in Double Quartet, choreographed by her husband, Bruce Macdonald. It was also her last performance there...the adored dancer plans to retire later this year. The Governor General delivered an address, and Lily, dressed in a silver-grey cocktail dress, admitted that she had many feelings about their departure for Australia, where her husband will become High Commissioner. "But there are many memories full of warmth and wonderful times," she said. She Tebes, it, later rebuffed the sentiment, but added a note of hopeful expectation: "I'm happy about the longhouse."



Av Paul (left) with Schreyer warm memories

Lily as a scientist captivated by a pulsating living brain in a fish tank. And the 20-year-old Cleveland-born author "I probably will only hear from people if they are trying to kill me. I don't think they will call to chat about it."

Kubler assumes role

When Michael Wadsworth has dusted the cobwebs off some best-forgotten memories for a number of modern day movie stars in his popular new book, *The Psychobiography of Film*, Wadsworth found 3,000 colorful illustrations for his pages in hard "grade 2" films. Giant Jordan and killer men aboard said a plethora of famous faces. One familiar visage is that of Canadian Margaret Keane, best-known as Christopher Reeve's Supergirlfriend, Lois Lane, here revealed in its early eddy called *Super*. The 39-year-old became suffering by *Mean* as Palma starred Kubler as a subtle woman even separated from her better half at birth by a Swedish doctor. Nancy Davis Reagan is unlikely to feel nostalgic about her role in *Reverend*. But the 1964 film *Reverend* is over-past First



Former Beatle Paul McCartney still believes in getting. And his conviction for possession of marijuana in Barbados last week reinforced the notion that time indeed stands still for the 41-year-old composer of *Let It Be*. Four years ago McCartney was released from a Tokyo jail after being held on suspicion of smuggling marijuana into Japan. Authorities dropped all charges, and the singer pleaded "never again" to smoke the evil weed, although he said it was ridiculous to ban marijuana and not alcohol and tobacco. "I still don't think grass is that dangerous," he said. "I know it's worse for you." Last week McCartney and his wife, Linda, 41, cut short a holiday in Barbados after they were both fined \$180 for possession—his fourth such conviction, and his second. Upon arrival at London's Heathrow airport, McCartney told reporters that grass was "a whole lot less harmful than whiskey, nicotine and glue—all of which are perfectly legal." Asked if he would continue to smoke the drug, McCartney winked and replied, again, "Never again." Six hours later police and customs officials at the airport announced Linda's arrest—for possession of marijuana. Three charges, but the story remains the same. ☐

Paul, Linda McCartney 'never again'



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# Apple's homey new computer

By Ian Austin

The public relations woman was clearly nervous. "You do not want to be clumsy, great," she told Steven Jobs, the 35-year-old chairman of Apple Computer Inc., after he omitted the phrase as his company's latest computer model. But Jobs was adamant and he persuaded a photographer in his harbor-side Toronto hotel room to take his picture with the trash canister glowing from the screen of Apple's newly unveiled Macintosh personal computer. But the multifunctional machine and his firm are deadly serious about the Macintosh. Jobs acknowledges that the new product—which will be released to dealers this week—will likely determine whether or not Apple can regain its badly eroded role as the leader of the \$6-billion personal computer market.

In the past, the descriptive "innovative great" would have been only a modest overstatement of the role of Jobs's California-based company in pioneering the relationship technology that has revolutionized the computer industry. Apple's early success has not entirely dimmed. The company ended 1983 with sales of nearly \$1 billion, an 87 per cent rise from 1982. But Apple is currently in a head-to-head struggle with International Business Machines for the lead in the industry. In the two years since IBM unveiled its popular Personal Computer, Apple's U.S. market share has dropped from 41 per cent to about 34 per cent. Now Apple is trying to reverse that trend with the widely advertised technical prowess of the Macintosh—and with a corporate strategy designed to produce a leaner, more aggressive company.

Computer experts who have seen the "Mac" are enthusiastic about the machine's merits. But Apple may still have difficulty winning it. The firm devel-

oped the machine after it had produced two noisy products that proved embarrassing for the company. The first setback was the Apple II, introduced in 1980. The Apple II's design was fine, but the first machines on dealers' shelves were riddled with small—but significant—production-line engi-

neered the world's imagination, but not captured corporate America's desk tops.

Scalway himself was hired by Apple as part of the campaign to regain its prominence. Last April Scalway was loyal to Apple's Cupertino, Calif., headquarters from his job as president of the Pepsi-Cola Co., a Manhattan-based unit of PepsiCo Inc. Attracting the successful soft drink company executive was a difficult task for Jobs. In three months of transatlantic trips to New York, Jobs failed to convince Scalway of the merits of joining. Then, Apple's chairman made one last attempt. According to Jobs, it was his idea. "I've formerly preached Apple's mission to populate the earth with affordable, easy-to-use computers that eventually resulted in the East Coast businesswoman's arrival to Silicon Valley. He told the 44-year-old Scalway, "If you stay at Pepsi and you look back five years from now, the only thing you will have accomplished is that you will have sold a lot of sugar water to kids. But if you come to Apple, five years from now you'll be able to look back and say, 'I changed the world a little bit.'"

steering errors. The faults proved so harmful to sales that Apple was forced to take the machines back and reconstruct some of their parts.

Then last year the company produced the Lisa, which received positive technical reviews. But it was a marketing disappointment. Industry observers estimated that Apple had hoped to sell as many as 50,000 Lisas last year, but only about 15,000 were shipped. The reason (at \$9,995 (U.S.) price tag was too much (it has since been reduced to \$5,995), machines were not sent to dealers until six months after their highly publicized introduction, and there was relatively little software (programming) available.

Scalway will have to overcome a number of formidable obstacles before he can change the market. But he has planned for major changes at Apple. Scalway has not departed from Jobs's strategy of eliminating middle management and large desk-size-making monoliths. A group of only 100 people developed the Macintosh, but he has brought more discipline to the company. Some of it has been elementary—insisting that employees meet their deadlines—but other aspects of his plan have been more severe. Since his arrival, about half of the 15 top people at Apple have left. As well, a decline in profit (a split of sales price) inspired him to eliminate 700 employees from the 5,800-person staff last summer. For his part,

Jobs—who cowrote the first Apple with Steve Wozniak, 33, in a garage nine years ago—now wears two corporate hats. Besides his role as chairman or, as Jobs says, "the keeper of the vision," he is also the general manager for the Apple divisions producing the Lisa and Macintosh.

Scalway has also improved Apple's marketing efforts. To avoid leaving the newest Apple stranded without enough software at the time of its introduction to the market, Apple has given more than 100 outside software firms early Macintosh prototypes in the past year to enable them to begin developing programs for it. Relationships with

experts believe that Apple's new Macintosh has a substantial technological lead. For one thing, the Macintosh weighs less than 30 lb. and he has a 30 lb. square, which allows the owner to carry it around in a brief bag, unlike the much larger 55-lb., 100-watt-hour, 31-in. priced at \$2,495 in the United States. The Canadian price is \$2,895, about \$1,490 less than IBM's PC. But more important, Mac, like the Lisa, has a 32-bit microprocessor at its heart. (Each bit represents one unit of electronic information.) That allows the Macintosh to operate faster than IBM's 16-bit PC. (Mac software works in Lisa but it will not operate on the machines.) Like Lisa,

Apple's fortunes in Quebec and overseas. A new programming design allows computer owners to translate software language from English into another language in hours (in the past it took months) and only programers could carry out the task.) As a result, Jobs claims, a properly equipped Mac does not require its owner to understand English.

There are some early encouraging signs that the Macintosh will be a success. Even before the machine was available, Apple had signed 150 million in contracts with 84 U.S. universities for Macintoshes and Lisas. On top of that, the large U.S.-based accounting



Jobs with Macintosh: a new model and a more aggressive stance



Transporting the Macintosh in tote bags: Apple hopes that the machine will avoid the setbacks of its predecessors

dealers, which were somewhat shoddy, especially in the United States, have been improved. In Canada, Apple severed its links with 17 branches of the Computerland chain last week because the chain was not selling enough of its products. Indeed, Jobs and Scalway personally met roughly 2,000 dealers during the past few weeks as they previewed the Mac. The highly anticipated \$2-million Macintosh assembly line has already produced several thousand machines to ensure that retailers have demonstration models to show to customers.

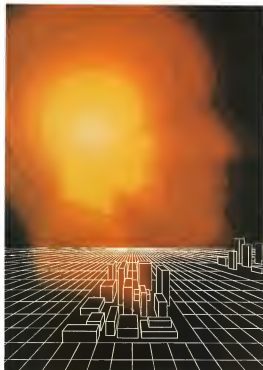
IBM does have an advantage in marketing, service and image, but many

the Mac is controlled by a "mouse," a small hand-held device connected to the computer which rolls on a desktop and directs a pointer on the computer's screen. The pointer selects commands largely through a series of pictures. Unwanted material is removed by placing the pointer on a drawing of a trash can.

At the same time, the computer's high-resolution screen displays material exactly the way it will appear when it is printed out. This, combined with a fairly sophisticated graphics overlay program, makes it easy for users to combine printed material with charts or even artwork. But the Macintosh also possesses a feature that could improve

from Paul Marwick Mitchell & Co. has agreed to buy about 3,000 Macintoshes for its field offices throughout North America.

For Jobs, a success with the Macintosh could push his corporate offspring into the realm of multibillion-dollar companies. And that would further enhance his personal fortune—already estimated to be roughly \$185 million. But his personal motives apparently also play a big role in the workaholic schedule he has maintained in bringing the new machine to market. Said Jobs, "I think you should follow your dreams rather than just give up and go to work for it." □



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# Gambling on the future

It was an auspicious beginning. With the sounding of trumpets and cheers, the four traders last week, Ontario's minister of agriculture and commercial relations, Robert Edgar, opened the Toronto Futures Exchange, the first independent exchange of its kind in Canada. Declared Kenneth Field, the newly elected chairman of the firm's

TSX self-financed Montreal and Vancouver in the assembly to attract new futures investment.

It is still unclear whether or not investors can be attracted to the market. And some experts agree that the high-risk trading will create many more big losers than winners. But Charles Cary, executive vice-president of Prifield



Opening ceremonies of the exchange: Field, a high-risk game may keep dollars at home

board of governors "We are trying to bring more liquidity to our futures market and reap some of those Canadian dollars pouring into the United States."

Futures trading has been in effect since the 18th century, when farmers began protecting themselves against a drop in market prices by contracting to sell their goods at a future date and at a fixed price. But on the new TSX contracts such goods as pork bellies and wheat have been replaced by high-risk trading in more glamorous commodities. Treasury bills, long-term government bonds and silver, as well, for the first time in Canada, investors have been given a chance to gamble on the stock market itself by betting on the rise or fall of the Toronto Stock Exchange 300 composite stock index.

The futures exchange opened at a time when the competition among Canada's two stock markets for investors' money is growing. The TSX is clearly the most important equity market in Canada, accounting for 76 per cent of all trading last year, handling \$10 billion worth of trades, far ahead of the second-place Montreal Exchange's \$1 billion. By creating the new exchange, the

Mackay Ross Ltd. "I believe that futures trading in a speculative market in which the individual investor will be a loser. It is not nearly a lottery, but it is in the same bad lot."

In the past decade futures trading has become the fastest-growing part of the entire investment industry in the United States. And within that grouping, stock index futures have attracted most of the attention and publicity. Introduced three years ago on exchanges in Kansas City, Chicago and New York, stock index futures now account for four per cent of the total activity of the futures market. The Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal stock exchanges have been trading in interest rate futures and grain futures for the past several years. But the market has been sluggish. One reason is that Canadian investors have continued to be attracted to the more active U.S. market. Declared Stuart Turnbull, professor of

commodities at the University of Toronto "There is a need to have these kinds of markets in Canada. In the past, investors would hedge an interest rate by going to the United States and dealing in futures."

The futures market enables an investor or corporation to minimize the risk on their existing stock portfolio. If an investor believes that the stock market is headed for a downturn, he can sell index-futures contracts which obligate a buyer to pay a fixed amount for the contracts when they expire in several months. As a result, if the market weakens, the investor will recoup losses on his stock portfolio from the money he makes on futures trading.

But futures also create a risk. A speculator in the futures market, by betting—and winning—as a source of share prices, can make a startling profit. And the allure of easy money is increased by the fact that only a small amount of cash needs to be placed on margin—deposited—before a futures contract. The TSX requires a maximum \$15,000 deposit for a TSX contract currently valued at about \$86,000. But the profit loss is accompanied by the potential for spectacular losses. Experiences from the United States show that more than two-thirds of futures investors entering the market lose money.

The TSX is also taking a risk. It is gambling that it can attract enough investors to become a healthy market. Said Cary: "The question remains as to whether or not there are enough of us around in Canada with the capital to create and meet demand." Indeed, the TSX may never achieve trading levels that are close to those of North America's largest futures market, the Chicago Board of Trade.

But TSX officials are confident that the market will flourish and have already announced that plans are under way to begin trading U.S. dollar and British sterling contracts in Canadian dollars. Says Angus Cledemans, general manager of the TSX "We are not here to be compared to Chicago. We have to walk before we can run."

—SHARON McKEAY  
in Toronto



# A pork barrel conspiracy

During the early 1970s Alberta hog producer Harry Little was pointed to the hog prices received by producers in the province were consistently lower than hog prices elsewhere. Little's concerns deepened in 1975, when he became a director of the Alberta Pork Producers Marketing Board and began to find evidence of a price-fixing conspiracy among Alberta meat packers. After failing to convince the provincial and federal governments to take action, Little and his fellow hog farmers decided to launch their battle alone. As a result, in 1982 Little and six other farmers volunteered to start a \$75-million class action lawsuit through the courts in behalf of all Alberta hog growers. They, the farmers won a major settlement. "I felt quite strongly that an injustice was being done," said Little, who operates a 160-sow farm-to-finish farm out of Camrose.

On Dec. 9 three of the companies named in the class action suit—Barnes Foods Ltd., Gibsons Ltd. and Eichen Canada Inc.—agreed to pay \$700,000 to the hog producers, along with \$165,000 in court costs. As well, the farmers' action helped prompt federal cabinet investigators to reopen an investigation into the packing companies' operations. And on Dec. 9 the same three firms pleaded guilty to charges of conspiring to lessen competition in the purchase of hogs. Each company was fined \$125,000. But the battle is continuing. The \$75-million class action suit against the remaining packing companies—Canada Packers Inc., International Packers Ltd., Fletcher's Ltd., Fletcher's Fine Foods Ltd. and Fletcher's (Alberta) Ltd.—is still active. And by the end of January an 18-month preliminary hearing on conspiracy charges against Canada Packers and International is expected to close.

The class action was launched on Feb. 28, 1984, after the Alberta Pork Producers Marketing Board was unable to force the Alberta government to force the federal inquiry into meat packer buying practices. The board was created to make marketing more orderly and efficient, but it also prevented the electronic marketplace necessary for price fixing. The board sold hogs by a multiple system known as a Dutch auction. Offering prices were printed on a teletype in descending gradations, with buyers for the packers punching a button on a machine in their own plant when they believed that the price was right. In a subsequent "first-come, first-served" basis, that the lowest bidder was the owner of a hog. But he contends that the board's action was unfair. "We wanted a public inquiry. We wanted the public to

hold meetings, mostly at hotels, to discuss the price range at which hogs would be purchased. Provisions managers then communicated to each other the acceptable price range—usually 50 cents or less—within which they would try to buy hogs."

Although the class action suit was



Little: The legal battle has already resulted in the conviction of the three firms

net, precedent setting, the six meat packers challenged it in court. Earlier this month the Alberta Court of Appeal in Edmonton reserved decision as to whether or not the lawsuit can proceed against Canada Packers, International and Fletcher's, which, since the legal action began, has been bought by the Alberta Pork Producers Marketing Board. The settlement agreed to by the other three companies was approved by the Court of Queen's Bench only after a province-wide polling of hog producers.

Ed Schultz, general manager of the marketing board, will inherit the task of returning the proceeds of the settlement, which works out to about four cents a pig to every farmer who marketed hogs in the 1970s. He said that, on average, a farmer will collect about \$150 per hog. "Most will think it is a bit of a joke." But he contends that the board's action was unfair. "We wanted a public inquiry. We wanted the public to

realize the problems in trying to run a competitive auction," he declared.

But the hog pricing conspiracy added to the growing problems of the province's hog industry. When the marketing began in 1982, there were 27,000 hog producers. Only 4,337 remain in business. Quebec has been the beneficiary of the decline in an industry that made Alberta, at the end of the Second World War, Canada's largest pork producer. In 1972 Alberta produced 1.7 mil-

lion hogs, and Quebec 18 million. By 1983 Alberta's share had declined to 1.6 million, while Quebec's rose to five million. Schultz blames a combination of freight rates, provincial subsidies and federal feed grain policies for the trend. "They are killing hogs now in England, places like Quebec and Newfoundland. That should not occur in a normally functioning economy," he said. "We do not ask for federal subsidies to plant indoor apple orchards in the prairie. So why should feed-deficient producers produce pork?"

But the producers clearly won a small, if belated, battle in the courts. Declared Little "When something needs to be corrected, sometimes the financial rewards are not as great as they could be. But a lot of other things have been accomplished." So, despite the fact that a hog will now restore Alberta's hog industry to health.

—SHERMAN WATKIN in Calgary

# An assault on the bankers' club

By Peter C. Newman

**H**enry Newton Rowell Jackson. It's a name you could franchise. He attended Upper Canada College and the London School of Economics. His wife, Marjia, is the talented daughter of James Durnan, the sometime president of Massey-Ferguson Co. He presides over a fiscal fiefdom that guards assets of nearly \$10 billion. It is one of the greatest but largest fortunes in the country, with control over Empire Life, the Algoma Central Railway, the Dominion of Canada General Insurance Co., the Canasty Co. of Canada and half a dozen large investment trusts, as well as Victoria and Grey, the country's fourth-largest trust companies. Even though his empire has never enjoyed better financial health, Jackson has dropped his customary shyness and is speaking out in high dudgeon.

He has never learned the smooth cadence of corporate body language, and his limb movements are even more awkward than usual during an interview, his arms chopping the air in dissent as he launches his—and his industry's—plaint. "Since the revision of the Bank Act," he growls, "nearly 40 foreign banks have started operating in Canada. Yet the net increase in major Canadian-owned banks is only three or four. The fact of the matter is that the Big Five must allow the foreign banks into this country for reasons of reciprocity to protect their business outside Canada. Quite naturally, they don't welcome new Canadian banks—not do they welcome giving commercial lending powers to Canadian-owned trust companies, which are better positioned to serve Canadian borrowers and lenders than the foreign banks."

Jackson's comments are particularly topical in view of this month's appointment by Ray MacLaren, the federal minister of state for finance, of a 24-member blue-ribbon panel to advise on "the evolution of financial institutions" in this country. The committee members are anxious to determine the public interest first and only then to see how each level of financial institutions developed this far. Jackson is likely close to announcing his decision as to whether or not it will allow foreign banks to expand their business beyond the current restriction of eight per cent of domestic banking assets. A parliamentary committee has also demanded removal of the ceiling, but Jackson and most

other nonbankers strongly object to the new source of competition, unless trust companies can, in effect, become banks as well. (The main difference between banks and trust companies is that the latter can lever up their capital only about 20 times their assets; banks can use a much greater amount and are much freer to get into the profitable money-lending business. Banks can also make loans to their directors and operate under no limits on how much they can lend to any one borrower.)



Jackson: a \$10-billion fortune

While the Bank Act is reviewed every 10 years, the Trust Companies Act hasn't been significantly revised since 1912. MacLaren's committee members have already indicated that they intend to probe the evolving functions of all financial institutions and recommend how the issue of overlapping jurisdictions should be resolved. It's hardly a coincidence that William Somerville, who runs Victoria and Grey for Jackson, is a member of the MacLaren task force. Somerville has made no secret of

his company's intention of eventually converting a recently acquired federally licensed subsidiary, Pioneer Trust, into a "Schedule B" bank (A Schedule B bank, unlike the Big Five and some of their slightly smaller cousins, is allowed to have individual shareholders with more than a 10-per-cent share of the stock. Paradoxically, foreign banks are exempted from this provision.)

"The major people who should be starting real banks in this country are those who control pools of capital," says Jackson. "Maybe the B'nai B'rith, or Tishas or us—but nobody will do it. If it means divesting their ownership down to 10 per cent. You just can't afford to take all the risk of going up against the competition of the elephants. If you stumble, you take all the loss; if you win and start to become profitable enough to reach an economical size, you have to divest. Existing ground rules entrench the position of the Big Five, granting them a virtual monopoly."

The 10-per-cent ownership level for Schedule A banks was originally put into place by Walter Gordon, when he was minister of finance in the Pearson government in the 1960s, to deter the Chinese Manchukuo from its intended takeover of the Toronto Dominion. At that time, the government of British Columbia was also pushing to be the sole shareholder of the then newly chartered Bank of British Columbia, and Ottawa couldn't countenance the notion of Wacky Bennett's Social Credit theories controlling a major bank. "I can't see the problem with an insurance company or a trust company owning a bank," says Jackson, who seems to be just that. "I don't want you effective competition to the Big Five unless someone who is responsible and has the money can go into it."

One problem seems to be that the Bank of Canada and the office of the inspector general of banks in Ottawa are both geared to dealing with very few large players. Neither agency could function as it is now constituted if there were, say, a hundred major banks in the system.

The significance of Jackson's surprising vocal opposition to existing legal strictures is that he has come out belling on what is almost certain to be a winning ticket.

The artificial barriers that have allowed this country's financial institutions to prosper without their potential preserves are about to crumble.



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# The pro-life boycott

By Val Ross

Editors and publishers are usually delighted when respected articles capture the public's attention. A flood of reader mail is a good indicator that their medium is being noticed. But for the past few months the Canadian magazine industry has been served by a little-published campaign against *Homemaker's* magazine, an advertiser-supported women's magazine that is distributed free to 1,800,000 Canadian homes. Offended by two columns in the March and April 1988 issues that dealt sympathetically with abortion, Campaign Life, the national anti-abortion lobby, immediately asked the 60,000 members to support products advertised in the magazine. As well, it inundated the companies that advertise in the Toronto-based monthly magazine with angry letters.



Gals. advertisers have been sent angry letters

The campaign has been so vigorous that in its current newsletter the Advertising Advisory Board, which acts as a spokesman for the industry, published a statement condemning the tactic. The board lists a host of reasons to advise members President Robert Olson, "because the possibility of inviting advertisers to debate editorial policy struck us as unappealing." Added Jeffrey Rosen, executive vice-president of *Homemaker's* publisher, Toronto-based Cosmopolitan Ltd., "The threat is to the very principles of freedom of the press."

Many journalists have already discovered what it means to attract the fire of the tireless pro-life lobby. But Campaign Life's national president, Toronto-based solicitor James Haglin, "We have about 50,000 members—that is more than enough to monitor every radio and TV station, every newspaper and magazine for pro-abortion bias." Whenever the group finds what it considers to be "biased or unbalanced" coverage, it sends a letter to the publisher. Cosmopolitan, says Val Ross, also publisher John, Gary Wainwright and William Long.

be bias, it unleashes its "mad squad"—the term *Edmonton Journal* columnist Dave Sheppard, who has been a Campaign Life target, once to describe the group's tireless letter writers. But Campaign Life's ad boycott against *Homemaker's* is unique. Referring to the two-inch-thick stack of anti-abortion mail he has received, Murray Stewart, corporate public relations manager of Canada Packers Inc., a *Homemaker's* advertiser, said, "We have not seen this sort of activity from any other group." Ted Laing, president of Canadian Inc., agreed. "Such pressure is unheard-of," he said. Last August Canadiana informed Campaign Life that it would not be advertising one of its products, expanded milk, as *Homemaker's* in 1988. Last month that the decision was made independently of the boycott. But, he added, "If a magazine makes its readers mad, we are reluctant to advertise in it."

Meanwhile, very dependence on—and therefore vulnerability to—advertisers has "unbalanced" magazine made it an attractive target. Said Campaign Life's legal adviser, Gwendolyn Landolt, "Homemaker's" exists only because advertisers are its sole support. Last week, Cosmopolitan's Rosen stated that it was difficult to assess whether or not the magazine had actually lost potential advertising sales. Said Sheppard, "No advertiser will say specifically that. But some are annoyed by what they perceive as blackmail, while others have asked me whether anybody out there feels the same way as the letter writers do about the issue."

Still others would prefer to withdraw entirely from the heat of controversy. Linda Watson, advertising and merchandising manager for Fisher-Price Canada, the toy manufacturer, told *Homemaker's* last week, "We have asked *Homemaker's* to make us aware if they are doing any abortion articles in future so we can reconsider advertising in that issue."

It is not yet clear whether Campaign Life's claim to a successful boycott is justified. Advertising sales figures for 1988 indicate that *Homemaker's* sales kept pace with the rest of the industry, rising by about 3.6 per cent—but they cannot reveal whether or not the magazine would have done even better without the boycott. The more important question is whether there was damage of a more intangible sort—journalists self-censorship. Judith Pinney, a Toronto *Globe and Mail* columnist, is one of many journalists who have felt the strength of the anti-abortion crusade. After writing a pro-abortion column, she received a flood of anti-abortion letters, some of which "made me fear for my safety," she said. Judith Pinney, "I am not avoiding writing about the topic. But you do take a deep breath before doing it again."

Campaign Life insists that a previous ad boycott which it organized against *Homemaker's* in 1976 kept the abortion issue out of the magazine's pages until the two offending columns appeared in the spring of 1983. Responded *Homemaker's* Editor Jane Gale, "Well, they certainly did not shut that up. The issue of choice was part of the fabric of our other columns. In fact, I was surprised that they wanted this long to start as an issue."

For its part, Campaign Life is continuing the boycott and the monitoring of *Homemaker's* contents. Said national president, "We will not see how they deal with the upcoming [Henry] Waxman case. We will see how they will be the real test." But by now the boycott itself is being monitored—by nervous journalists. Advertiser influence is what "we spend our lives fighting," said Peter Desbarats, dean of studies at the University of Western Ontario. "The real test is on the magazine to stick to its guns." □

## IMMIGRATION

# Sanctuary and the defiant churches

By Robert Hoek

The press conference resembled a scene from a Costa-Gavras film. A masked man—known only as Raphael—sat silently under the glare of television camera lights as his protection told the story of his terrified flight from Guatemala. They also described the Canadian government's decision to request asylum for political refugees status. The event took place in the basement of Montreal's Notre Dame des Grâces church, under the auspices of an unusual group of church officials and laymen who are challenging the government by announcing that they had taken the unprecedented step of offering Raphael sanctuary in St. Andrew's United Church in St. John's, 30 km east of Montreal.

The decision to invoke a discarded tradition of offering a safe harbor is a church to someone in distress is a radical act. The action comes in the midst of an expanding controversy over how to handle the growing number of self-declared refugees who bypass Canada's usual immigration procedures in order to seek asylum. A network of church groups claims that many, like Raphael, are deported back to their own countries to die in their own land.

The federal government insists that it is working hard to adhere to the Geneva Convention requirements to give all refugee elements a fair hearing. Said Ottawa's refugee policy director, Raphael Girard, "The system is laden with provisions for the claimant." But Girard and other government officials say that people who are fleeing poverty, not political persecution, are taking advantage of the system. Officials charge that those economic refugees come to Canada as visitors, then claim political refugee status in order to stay for the two or three years normally required to process their claim. During that time they hope to be able to work, get social assistance and be admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds. As of November, 1983, the backlog of cases before the federally approved Refugee Status Advisory Committee in Hall, Que., was 5,138.

Guatemala's Raphael was one applicant who immigration would never decide was not a real refugee. Montreal lawyer and group spokesman Denis Bouchard explained that Raphael had requested all manner of appeal and was due to be deported to Guatemala last month. Raphael, age 35, had refugee

workers that Guatemalan police arrested him when he was 16 for handing out political pamphlets. He said that they beat him severely and jailed him. Two years later, when he found the bodies of several murdered friends lying in a road, he fled to Canada and applied for refugee status. But Canadian immigration authorities decided that he was not really at risk.

The refugee group counters that Raphael's fear is well grounded and that



Raphael (right) with U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, John Henderson in an unprecedented act

people who left Guatemala for political reasons are at great risk if forced to return. That belief of two Montreal-based committees—408 Refugees and the Comité non-refugeés—made up of various refugee groups and interested lawyers—to ask the United Church to give Raphael sanctuary last December. The two organizations revealed the unusual move last week to put pressure on the government to change its refugee policy. Group members list fines of as much as \$5,000 and two to 14 years in jail for harboring Raphael. For his part, Rev. Robert Lindsay, a senior staff officer from the United Church's Toronto headquarters, told the news conference, "The church would rather risk offending the law than risk a life."

The two refugee committees, which have the support of 14 Protestant and

Roman Catholic congregations in the Montreal area, want the government to acknowledge the backlog problem. In May they immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy initiated a trial program in Toronto and Montreal designed to

For its part, the government has acknowledged the backlog problem. In May they immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy initiated a trial program in Toronto and Montreal designed to

streamline and expedite the refugee appeal procedure. Since then, his successor, Robert, has also agreed to suspend any further deportations to Guatemala until the end of January, after his department has reviewed the situation in that country.

Last week Canadian immigration officials said that because deportations to Guatemala have been suspended, they will take no action against Raphael's protectors. The Canadian church groups hope that it will not be necessary to harbor large numbers of refugees. But in the Montreal area alone, there are about 100 people fearing deportation to Guatemala. If Ottawa decides to proceed with the deportations after its review, the commitment of the Canadian church groups will be severely tested. □





## In the wake of a golfing pioneer

In 1968, when 19-year-old Sandra Post left her home in Oakville, Ont., to test the Ladies Professional Golf Association tour in the United States, only she believed that she could make a living. In total, the 34-tournament LPGA schedule offered prizes of only \$558,188 (U.S.), and Post was charting a new course as the tour's first Canadian. But Post not only made a living in 35 years on tour, she shared the trail for other Canadian women who this week start a dramatically enhanced season with total prizes of \$8.13 million.

Post will not be in Deerfield Beach, Fla., when play opens in the \$800,000 Honda Classic of Deer Creek. Since last June she has retired and enjoyed life at home in Oakville. "I may play the first tournament here and those," Post said last week, "perhaps the LPGA Championship or the du Maurier Classic in Toronto. But I'll never again play on the overseas I did."

Instead, golf fans will look to the seven other Canadians who now hold LPGA playing cards. They include Cathy Sherk, 38, of Niagara Falls, Ont. (winning her sixth event), Judy Sils, 38, of Waterloo, Ont. (third), Barbara Benckowsky, 35, of Burlington, Ont. (second), and four Westerners who recently joined the tour—Dorothy Carter, 39, of Lake Cowichan, B.C.; Lisa Young, 38, from Prince Rupert, B.C.; Lynn Cook, 38, of North Delta, B.C.; and Dwayne Kornegay, 36, of Calgary.

With the exception of Sherk, who will not begin the tour until March, the others will play at Deerfield this weekend. In fact, testimony to an achievement that Post considers far more significant than her success on the course: "I did not pioneer the LPGA, although my career did span its years of greatest growth," she said. "But I did pioneer women's professional golf in Canada. We now have all these new players from around Canada, and I think that's something to be proud of."

Post retired dramatically in her first year she was 19th on the money but with \$12,800. She also won the LPGA

Championship by beating the formidable Kathy Whitworth in a sudden-death playoff. Over the next 35 years she earned more than \$777,000—more than any Canadian professional golfer, male or female—including \$178,750 and three championships in 1979.

Despite Post's retreat from the 1986 season, Canada has never had so many players on the women's tour. Ellis said

Benckowsky could be the golfer who takes over where Post left off. Last year she won \$28,747 as a rookie and placed 69th on the money list. Most of her success came in the last third of the season, when she broke finished fourth—a remarkable performance for someone who did not take up golf seriously until she was 19. Benckowsky had played as a child at her father's Burlington Springs Golf Club but seriously abandoned the game as a teenager. After high school she went to Florida, revived her interest in golf, and attended Palm Beach Junior College for two years. Benckowsky then received a full golf scholarship at Florida State University. Two years later, after winning three mini-tour events, she earned her LPGA card in January of last year. Like Post, Benckowsky determined to succeed. She happens to be blessed with the looks and personality to attract the endorsements that make a golfer solvent when the putter fails. A Memphis public relations company has already signed her, along with some other LPGA players, to represent Rague and Member, a Swiss jewelry firm.

"I'm glad that happened," Benckowsky said before this week's tournament. "But I know my golf is the main thing. I learned so well, let me try first year, especially in the area of relaxing. I had trouble with that. I always seemed to be thinking of what I had to do the next week. But I also learned that I could play on tour. Before I came out, I expected the girls to hit it pure every shot. But they don't. They also make mistakes."

Post has learned too that success depends on how well golfers adapt to the demanding lifestyle, the travel and the competition. She said, "It will depend on whether or not they can concentrate for five hours a day, four days a week, and also on how much they love the game—whether they really want it." Whether any new Canadian on tour will one day match Post's accomplishments will be clear this winter.

—LOREN RUDENSTEIN in Toronto.



Benckowsky, most likely to succeed Post as Canada's best pro



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## TELEVISION

### All that jazz and blues

INDEGO  
CBC, Jan. 28

The nerve called *Judoo* took shape in 1978 in a Toronto nightclub where patrons sipped cocktails and exhaled an atmospheric cloud of tobacco smoke. With a small cast starring Salome Ray, Billy Dwyer and Denis Simpson, the stage version of *Judoo* portrayed almost a century of black American music. The improvisational sense of cabaret turned the reverie into a long-running hit. The live show had a flirtatious sense of burlesque, of course in bedclothes, of midnight parties held to pay the rent and, finally, of chic nightspots in Harlem before 1960s rhythm and blues, and later Detroit's Motown empire, commercialized what had been a vital, spontaneous culture.

On television, *Judoo* (20 minutes on CBC Superchannel will telecast a two-hour version later this year) enlarges the cast, turns up the lights from sultry darkness to blinding brightness and gives us the glories of a Las Vegas production. The sensual sense of shared intimacy and forbidden fun has been replaced with the haze of smoke. Still, with its energetic stagecraft the show manages both to entertain and to be an important document.

The improvisers of such stars as Bruce Smith, Duke D'Angelo, Mike Hickey and Pearl Bailey do rough justice to their predecessors. Most perform several numbers from several styles and decades. Billy Dwyer brings a magnetic authority to both blues and jazz. Judoo's white Canadian Woodley joins with the superior images of Diana Ross and Patti LaBelle. The offhand ease of the nerve briefly wears into touching drama in Salome Ray's portrait of Billie Holiday. The drug-addicted singer stumbles onto the stage, gulps a glass of bourbon waiting on the prize and, with her knees about

to give in, delivers a poignant melody of *Them There Eyes* and *God Bless the Child*. The heartbreak that elevates so much black music finds a sad note in the Holiday segment. Tragic but transcendent moments like these compensate for the production's glibly-glamorous.

*Judoo* does tap the peeling joy that animates so much black music, but the show increasingly gives short shrift to



Ray, Dwyer: Pivotal moments and generosity

the gospel tradition that informs much black music. Instead, for a decade, viewers of the glaring extravaganzas (set on a shagbark stage that is a silent nightmare) hear the same R&B songs written We Are Family and a full-time rendition of the title number, *Judoo*, that does not catch the devil's way more so than the same number generated in the original cabaret production. By its careful staging and obvious use of religion, *Judoo* has lost some of its one-act vitality, the occasion to overwhelm a willing crowd with a sheer musical joy. —BILLY MACVIGAN

## BOOKS

LIFE & TIMES OF MICHAEL K.  
By J.M. Coetzee  
(General, \$20 pages, \$22.95)

When times become difficult, literature begins to reassess its ancient function of prophecy. In South Africa, where political stability seems less and less likely to endure, such writers as Nadine Gordimer and Agnès Brehm have visualized the crashing future in detail. *Life & Times of Michael K*, the fourth book of fiction by a white Cape Town writer, J.M. Coetzee, provides an acute insight into a society about to undergo a gradual collective breakdown. Last year the novel was the well-deserved winner of Britain's renowned Booker McConnell Prize for fiction; this month it has been published in North America.

Coetzee understands not only the sweeping manifestations of power, race and class, but as a humble individual who becomes trapped in political turmoil. The novel's hero is not altering. He is an insouciant, free-spirited gardener with a hairlip. Michael K, a loner since earliest childhood because of his deformed face, loses his job with the parks department in Cape Town when civil unrest makes the very existence of parks and gardens an anachronism. His mother, a former housekeeper and cleaning woman who senses that she is near death, begs to return to the rural area where she had known happiness as a child. When the government arbitrarily denies them permission to leave the Cape, Michael has another act out. He is sent to the interior on a makeshift cart powered by a rickety bicycle. Michael's mother dies on the way, but he continues the quest, determined to keep her ashes where they belong.

Most of the white people he encounters assume that any black wanderer without official papers is a subversive, and throughout his journey he suffers repeated detentions. After escaping from a labor camp, he secretly settles on an abandoned farm, content merely to work the land and grow his own food. Freedom is not an intellectual concept for Michael, but something as tangible as the radishes and pumpkins that keep him from starvation. When the army recruits him, he refuses to eat. In the detention camp his calm, willpower finally provokes a baffled administrator and a reluctant army in at least one white man—the doctor who tries to take care of him.

Although it is rooted in the tortured



Coetzee: a portrait of human dignity

and lonely landscapes of South Africa, Coetzee's vision is not limited to his own country. The arbitrary violence and oppression that he evokes are known to many other nations. To underscore the book's universality, Coetzee deliberately avoids comparison with one of the

greatest of modern novelists, the German-Jewish author Franz Kafka. Michael's name recalls to Kafka's *The Trial* and *The Castle*, in which the hero is called "K". It is an audacious move in a contemporary playwright calling a character "Hamlet." Both writers create an atmosphere of brooding mystery, and their plots seem both utterly necessary and bizarre. But, unlike Kafka, Coetzee infuses a surprising amount of optimism into his fiction. *The Trial* ends bleakly: "It was as if he were in the shade of it to oblivion." *Life & Times of Michael K* finishes with the hopeful words, "One can live."

Michael can never rid himself of politics, because it is impossible to escape from history. The forces around him shape his destiny even more than his own actions do. Throughout the novel he does make political decisions—it is, in one point, he refuses to become the servant of a white doctor who is trying to hide from the police in the wilderness. Yet Michael's imagination has not been freed by the worst effects of the virus, leaving him free from racism and abstract ideology. As a result, Coetzee may be no more popular with Marxists than with apologists for apartheid. His book serves as a reminder that dignity has nothing to do with comfort, security or even good health, but with the readiness to endure the hardships of fate without evasion or surrender. An attention to small things—the feel of a dried seed, the smell of bitter water—disgusts us with Michael's fate and Coetzee's prose. *Life & Times of Michael K* begins as a study of an apparently ordinary man; it develops into a portrait of an exceptional human being, written with unusual power and beauty. —MARK ARLEY

### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction	Nonfiction
1 <i>Psy-Secretary</i> , King (3)	1 <i>The Game</i> , Dwyer (3)
2 <i>Planet</i> , Michael (3)	2 <i>In Search of Excellence</i> , Peters and Waterman Jr. (3)
3 <i>Richard's Race</i> , Atwood (3)	3 <i>You Can't Print That</i> , Lynch (3)
4 <i>The Name of the Rose</i> , Eco (3)	4 <i>Covertures</i> , Mather, Grogan (3)
5 <i>The Windward Day</i> , Sroufe (3)	5 <i>Forces</i> (3)
6 <i>A Time For Justice</i> , Callaghan (3)	6 <i>The Morychians</i> , McQueen (3)
7 <i>Berlin Game</i> , Douglas (3)	7 <i>Richard's Race</i> , Atwood (3)
8 <i>July 1914</i> , Lee (3)	8 <i>Canadian Establishment</i> , Newman (3)
9 <i>The Sniper</i> , French (3)	9 <i>Other People's Money</i> , Foster (3)
10 <i>An Innocent Millionaire</i> , Vennart (3)	10 <i>Look Me Up</i> , Kinsley, Fishelson (3)
	11 <i>The Devil's Last Case</i> , Stevenson (3)
	12 <i>Portrait of James Earl Ray</i> , Stewart (3)

(1) Figures last week

# The man who loved comedy

BROADWAY DANNY ROSE  
Directed by Woody Allen

Broadway Danny Rose is a sentimental Woody Allen exercise about being Jewish, living in New York and the oddity of romantic love. Lazarevich shot in black and white by Allen's longtime cinematographer, Gerald Wirth, the film is a sweet, glibly tacky Danny Rose, played by Allen, as a person's memory who wanders nostalgic nightclubs acts that are so far out on the

legend. As weird as they are, Rose's clients seem reasonably happy with what they are doing because Rose makes life as easy as possible for them. He constantly relinquishes their ego and self-confidence, but he pays a high price the stress of finding them jobs and trying to make his own ends meet. Never paying much attention to his own life, he lives vicariously, feeding off, and becoming part of, the energy of the New York theatre world. He finds about wildly, asking and begging, fearing ap-

Rose used to be a stand-up comic himself (as was Allen), but after two heart attacks he decided to go into personal management. He appreciates the courage—and desperation—that it takes for performers to have themselves onstage for the world's inspection. His politeness to clients rests on a sense of magic, nervous words. Strong Snake. She is so loyal to his clients that he rudely dismisses her when she is.

The main story line of Broadway Danny Rose involves a 1950s has-been named Lou Canone (Nick Apollo Forte) whom Danny has looked into the Waldorf Astoria, hoping for a comeback. Lou, who has always been and remains a heavy drinker, will probably founder when he is griffined, then, as Nathan Funn, shows up. After driving to New Jersey to get her, Danny discovers her in the middle of a telephone screaming match with Lou. As Tina, Mrs. Farrow—with her glasses, her hair and all—add, almost voluptuous weight—is virtually unrecognizable. Her tentative, frail mannerisms have disappeared, and her wispy, little girl's voice has been replaced by coarse vulgar chortles. Tina is tangled up with the Mafia and has gotten up in the school of hard knocks. It is one of the sentimental pleasures of Broadway Danny Rose to watch her edify view of the world change.

The techniques that failed miserably in Woody Allen's two most dismal productions seemed remarkably in the new film. The human garbages who loomed into the lesser Shakespearean Memories seem more at home in the world of going vanguard, and Allen dreamily brings his light, classical style to a new level in A Shakespearean Night's End Comedy into play. In fact, certain sequences with Allen and Farrow outstraining the man are as comically inspired as anything in the silent movies.

Broadway Danny Rose never seems planned out—the movie seems totally effortless. Every comic sequence, such as one involving the release of letters from parole files in a warehouse, works beautifully. And, as in *Interiors*, the laughs are not wanted; they are part of character and emotional texture. When Danny, being chased by a Mafia mobster, says, "I need a Valium," the use of a hackney phrase, the film belongs more to Danny Rose than Woody Allen. And other lines, such as "I'm terribly funny," such as Danny's comparison of his aunt to "something you buy in a hot bar store." The laughs light up what is essentially a sad and bleak (although one with hope) The characters who inhabit the mid-century world of Broadway Danny Rose on the surface, indicate in and produce cheap emotions, Allen's genius is to show how deeply those are bought. —LAURENCE O'LOUGHLIN



Allen, Farrow's small, glibly ironic, to the liberty and sadness of show biz

periphery of the modern entertainment world that they almost appear to be breaks. They range from a one-legged cop dancing to a man with a hand that can pick out September songs on the piano. Yet for every goof in this laugh-out-loud gem, the movie creates a couple of cringes to go with them.

Unlike Allen's previous effort, *Leonard*, *Broadway Danny Rose* is known by only a few people. To those few, including a group of Barbra-Beth comedians who gather at the Carnegie Deli to tell stories about him, he is something of a

person—anything to book a date for a client. Like Leonard Zelig, Rose has the sense of identity, he is Jewish, and a loser beyond repair. "I never did anything and I still feel guilty," he cries.

The comics who pay tribute to Rose also relate the film's narrative with their memories of him. In fact, Allen pays tribute to them. *Broadway Danny Rose* is a comedy, they have audience-like modern, transposed gladiators, making little old ladies happy, gently saying to them, "How old are you, dear?" and then creating a joke

## A magical refuge from the cold

LATITUDES  
Directed by John Julius

The sporting sequence of *Latitudes* is festive in an arctic Canadian nightmarish on a deserted road in northern Alberta, a young woman is trapped by a blizzard in her stalled car. As the deadly cold wages her inward encroachment, a police officer digs the woman out and carries her back to his dark, one-room shack. But the woman finds trapped there too by the blizzard and by the danger of confinement with the lusty Police-ture peasant. A field officer for the provincial ministry of culture, Wanda (Annie Peltier) is a society aware of the cultural barriers between herself and Josef (August Schellenberg). But most of all she is a prisoner of a provincial upbringing, a materialist set of values and a cold marriage, all of which prevent her from embracing life.

As Wanda slowly abandons the trappings of her conventional self, she soon realizes that Josef is more than a peasant. Underneath the dour, almost rabbit in his pinstriped uniform's belt and a stoniness of the Virgin Mary, in idle moments he carves small gnomes and earnestly shows them to the show for his home. In his quiet, unworldly perfection, the two fight, speak in tongues, make love and playfully exchange sexual roles. The ending leaves Wanda suspended between the civility of her daily existence and the impossibility of living forever with the new self she has discovered.

Shot on a small budget of \$400,000, *Latitudes* is a brave, difficult film. Director John Julius and cinematographer Robert Reisz have transformed Josef's home into a richly detailed microcosm, and the acting is magnificent. But *Latitudes* is so too cautious about sexuality and masculinity to be fully satisfying. Josef is the perfect male not just quiet, funny and sexy, but supernatural and mythological as well. Furthermore, as an avowed rationalist, Julius has stamped "Made in Canada" all over the film, from the copy of Martin Kopp's *Wanda* in Wanda's car to the Canadian Wood on her tape deck. Such attention to minutiae may reach the same level of cultural self-confidence as the distillation or camouflage of local references in Canadian films. *Latitudes* is too good enough to speak for itself and its country without primping. —MARK CHAMBERLAIN



Wanda and Josef play that turns down social and dramatic conventions

## THEATRE

# A drama of weird skills

WHITE DING DOG  
By Judith Thompson  
Directed by Bill Glosso

Judith Thompson's first play, *The One Hundred*, was an aggressive and compelling study of nature's brutality. *The One Hundred* playwright's second work is a disorienting example of theatre of the absurd. It attempts to yoke pungent realism with airy fantasy: a prophetic talking dog appears prominently in Thompson's hostile and obscure dramatic origins. But the superb cast at Toronto's Tarragon Theatre also chooses poignant moments.

*White Ding Dog* is a morality play performed by a rustic Toronto household. *White Ding Dog* has a pail on the back of a man in a second-floor bedroom full of sickly light, Gladden (Jerry Reynolds) crawls from his desecrated and shows himself with past moon. Gladden's son Cape (Harold J. Lawrence) vows to redeem his own wasted life by joining his father's talking dog told him that Gladden would live if his adulterous wife, Lorna (Jackie Burroughs), returned home. Pong (Clare Coulter), a young psychic from Kirkland Lake who telepathically turns up at the house from door, confesses the dog's progress when Lorna suddenly arrives with her peak loss, Pascal (Stephen O'Connell), Cape and Pong successfully conspire to eliminate him from Lorna. The dying man's wife

finally decides to stay with him, but her conversion comes too late—Gladden and Pong learn that the price of redemption is still mortality.

Only the plot of *White Ding Dog* is simple. Much of the first act is boring gibberish voiced only by Thompson's and one-liner and disturbingly inventive imagination—Cape's one point across Lorna of staring his childhood nosebleeds in jam jars. Family members remain ciphers, especially Cape, whose role propels the play in its prelude to a plot, such as it is. Lorna's arrival delivery only emphasizes the inadequate script. But the second act brings strange revelations. The characters' long soliloquies, on the surface an internal monologue, before, begin to exhibit their own emotional logic. When Burroughs sees after the line, "I am not a dead storm—I am a carrot with its head chopped off," and more as audience with it, both actors and playwright have achieved a theatrical triumph.

Without the irritating first act to tear down "normal" social and dramatic conventions, the second act would degenerate further into perplexing anarchy. Its partial success results from an excellent production, which makes the most of the dramatic weird writing skills. Judith Thompson has worked her minor miracles in truly mysterious ways, but she runs the risk that few of the conceptions will stay to witness them. —MARK CHAMBERLAIN

# Murder on the weekend

By Allan Fotheringham

For some reason that has always escaped me, my initial views on murder as one of the favourite subjects around. Agatha Christie's books will forever be rich as her reputation. Murder fascinates people, as witnessed by the paperback back in any shop. That is a Vancouver man who paid half a fortune to purchase the bricks from the Chicago wall that formed the backdrop for the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. Wayne and Shooter make their reputation on the streets about the dispatching of Julius Caesar. Alfred Hitchcock built his career on the subject. It is natural, one supposes, that the idea for a fun weekend in the country should feature something that is regarded as comic—a suspected murder.

The excuse is a book hype, spring from the antic imagination of Jack McClelland, the Toronto publisher who once wrote a saga down Yonge Street in the freezing rain to promote one of his creations. This time the hype is in aid of a new look to mystery writer Howard Engel's *Murder on Location*. Engel, a mid-managed type with feathery locks, is a radio producer at the CBC and in his spare time writes whodunits featuring Sergeant Cooper, a Niagara detective with a liking for egg salad sandwiches. It is perfectly understandable, for anyone who has had to deal with CBC bureaucracy, why one of their bureaucrats would fashion murder plots in his living hours.

The site is Niagara-on-the-Lake, a pleasant little dumpy town that looks as if it is right out of a *Cornwall* or *Ives* card. The resort town, which resurrects the ghost of George Bernard Shaw each summer, is safely down the river away from the majority of Niagara Falls. (Dear Willie on Niagara Falls: The second-biggest disappointment in a bride's life.) The only promise is that someone will be murdered before the weekend is over. Considering McClelland's choice of guests, this seems a fair possibility.

One must understand the essential Allen Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

pattern of the Toronto Media Media. They lose cheeks on greeting and party together continually, but underneath there are dark broodings and imagined slights, old feuds, bad blood and planned revenge. McClelland, for example, still seethes with suppressed rage that his cocaine prototype, Anna Porter, has run off and started her own publishing house, sipping away at some of his perceived authors. Everyone hates John Porter, who is handsome, chairman of the Toronto Transit Commission and pasty premier of Ontario, because he has such a beautiful,

smile like candy nips and has the lips of a 15-year-old. It is gits and gits, with enough leather pants to demote the Argentine jockey. It is not who is going to be murdered, it is who one would like to murder.

There is Ontario Attorney General Ray McCarthy, destined for Brian Mulroney's cabinet, *jeu d'esprit* incarnate that the law between critics and shrews is now completely fused over. There is a real-life Niagara politician, Roger Noble, who is six feet, 8 1/2 inches and 220 lb, and must travel in a special van on his tours to school's promoting traffic safety because he cannot fit into a police car, recruited as part of the plot, someone that law enforcement and book promotion live safely together in the era of policy.

Murder is now a respectable industry. There is a group in Vancouver that, in black-tied finery moving from house to house for each course, stages a simulated killing once a month for those bored with the stock exchange ticker and the takeover bid. Sam Rytis, the rich man's travel agent, runs a weekend mystery train from Toronto to New York featuring six actors who set

up the murder, while the guests must solve (over \$40 per body). It was the TV-voice Barbara, from the *Adeline* McClelland to meet on black tie, the formal wear for the ladies, on the glitzy weekend, since it would look better on color television.

Then it is all so good, playing out, waiting out, real frustrations. McClelland, mostly well as a writer, Anna Porter, uses a premise who has spurned a manor can never be forgiven. Nash can never be the true star of *The Weekend* so long as Barbara has all those expensive clothes on *The Journal*. Worthington keeps looking over his shoulder severely all weekend, fearful that Barbara Anna may arrive in her right-wing cleavage and split his monopoly in that field. In the end, the murderer is revealed as Engel, who pulls a trick, sees from the dining room, pursued by the sergeant. Great! *Murder* and falls into the swimming pool. The good guy turns out to be the bad guy. Something like politics, actually.



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